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**The Inscriptions of Mal-Amir**

AND THE

**LANGUAGE OF THE SECOND COLUMN**

OF THE

**AKHÆMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS,**

BY

**Prof. A. H. SAYCE.**

(1)





## The Inscription of Mal-Amir and the Language of the Second Column of the Akhæmenian Inscriptions.

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In 1874 a Paper of mine was published in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (III, 2) on „the Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam and Media”. In this I pointed out that the inscriptions copied by Sir A. H. Layard in the plain of Mal-Amir were written in the same cuneiform syllabary and the same language as the so-called Scythic or Median texts of the Akhæmenian kings, and that consequently the most correct designation of the latter would be Amardian. Since the publication of this Paper, Dr. Oppert has brought out his great work on „Le Peuple et la Langue des Mèdes” (1879), as well as notices of the Mal-Amir texts which he presented to the first Congress of Orientalists at Paris in 1873. In the first-named work Dr. Oppert associates me with Dr. Mordtmann in wishing to term the „Protomedic” texts Elamite; but this was really the case only in so far as I considered the plain of Mal-Amir to be included by the Semites in the mountainous country they called Elam or „Highlands”. As I have already said, the name I actually proposed for these texts was Amardian.

Subsequent study has only confirmed me in this latter view. The „Protomedic” version of the Akhæmenian monuments was intended for the same readers as the inscriptions

of Mal-Amir, as I hope to prove in the course of this Paper, and that these readers were the people called Amardians by the Greeks is shown by the consentient testimony of the classical writers, the Old Testament and the inscriptions themselves. To establish this is part of the object of the present Paper.

Let us first try to determine who the Amardians were. Strabo, on the authority of Nearkhos, states (XI. 13; 3, 6) that „four bandit nations” inhabited the mountainous region east of the Euphrates — the Mardians who bordered on the Persians, the Uxians and Elymæans in the district of Susa, and the Kossæans contiguous to the Medes. As Nöldeke has made clear (*Gött. G. G.* 1874, pp. 173 *sq.*) the Kossæans are the Kissians of the older Greek writers, Æskhylos, Hekataeos and Hêrodotos, and inhabited the northern part of Susiana and the mountain-ridges in the direction of Iran. They are the Kassî of the cuneiform inscriptions, who more than once conquered Babylonia and established dynasties there. The names of several of their gods, as well as the signification of some of the words of their language are given in bilingual texts. The Uxians of Strabo must be identified with Uwaja, the name given to Susiana in the Persian inscriptions and still preserved in the modern Khu-zistan. The word has been supposed to mean „aborigines” and to denote the natives of the country which adjoined Persis; but this is rendered doubtful by our finding it in a Susian inscription under the form of Khu-uš-ši. Here one of the earlier Susian kings declares that his power extended „as far as the Tigris” (*cus Tiglat*).... „as far as the Khušši” and „as far as the Euphrates” (*Purat*), after which mention is made of the „Cušši” or Kossæans<sup>1</sup>). The Greeks first be-

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1) Lenormant, *Choix de Textes cunéiformes* II, 42. This work will be quoted in the rest of the Paper as *Len.*



came acquainted with the Elymæans as a tribe in the age of Alexander; in the second century B. C. they formed a kingdom in the ancient Susiana. The name must have come from the Babylonians, since Elam was the title under which Susiana with its capital Susa was known to the Assyrians and Babylonians and through them to the Hebrews. It was the Semitic rendering of the Accadian Numma or Nivva „the highlands”, which denotes Susiana in the præ-semitic inscriptions of Chaldea. The native name was Anzan, softened into Ansan in the mouths of the Babylonians. Ansan is given as the equivalent of Elamtu or Elam in W. A. I. II. 47. 18., and the usual title of the earlier Susian monarchs is *šuncic Anzan Susunka anin Susinak*, „ruler of Anzan, the Susian, king the Susian”. In the Behistun inscription (III. 3.) Veisdates is said to have been followed by „the Persian people who (were) clans of Anzan”. Such at least is the reading of the „Protomedic” or Amardian version; the Persian has simply *vithâ-patīy* in place of *huelmannu* — *Anzan*. Veisdates was a native of Tāravā in the district of Yutiya, the Utii of Hêrodotos (III. 93.) who are coupled with the Mykians and placed in his list immediately before the inhabitants of the Islands in the Persian Gulf. Since Susian inscriptions have been found near Bushire on the Persian Gulf in which the royal scribes give themselves the title of „kings of Anzan”, it is clear that the country of Anzan of which Susa was the capital must have extended as far as the sea. The border-land between it and Babylonia was named Evutbal of which Kudur-Mabug was „lord” (W. A. I. I. 5. 10.); the name appears as Yatbur in the texts of Sargon (*Botta* 66, 27., 87, 1.)

It was of Anzan, again, that Kyros and his predecessors were kings before his conquest of Media, according to the newly-discovered inscriptions of the founder of the so-called Persian Empire. Teispes had established himself in Anzan

or Elam, which the overthrow of Assyria had left exposed to the first comer, and it was of Anzan and not of Persia that Kyros was primarily king. Hence it is that Isaiah (XXI. 2.) declares that the invaders of Babylonia are Elam and Media, Elam being the Semitic equivalent of Anzan; hence, too, Susa or Shushan, the first capital of Kyros as king of Anzan, remained the leading city of the Persian monarchy <sup>1</sup>). At an earlier date, as we shall see, the king whose inscriptions Sir A. H. Layard copied at Mal-Amir twice describes himself as the conqueror of Anzan, — *Dipti šulra-irra-na ā'ak Anzana hu dari-ra-na* „of the god Dipti the chief and the giver to me of Anzan” (*Lay. Insc.* 36. 12, 18.)

This king calls himself an A'apirian, — *A'apir-irra* — and the gods he worshipped were A'apirian also. From A'apir was formed the name of the country A'apirti by means of the suffix *ti*, and A'apirti is evidently the same word as the Khapirti of the so-called Scythian or Medic transcripts of the Akhæmenian inscriptions. In these as well as at Mal-Amir initial and final *kh* interchanges with *h* or is lost altogether; in fact a sound was represented which was not known to the cuneiform syllabary of Assyria or Babylonia, and to express which therefore various expedients were tried. The Persian letter  *ā* was derived, as I hope to show elsewhere, from the Amardian  *a'a* or *ā*, and at the beginning of proper names it is generally replaced in Amardian by *kha*. In short, the A'apir(ti) of Mal Amir and the Khapirti of the Akhæmenian inscriptions are one and the same country.

The Mal Amir texts leave no doubt as to where it was situated. It was the plain of Mal Amir where the city stood whose ruins may still be traced near the sculptures

1) Susun, the native name of Susa, means „the old city”, since it is derived from the word *suse-ti* which, as Dr. Oppert has pointed out, means „former” in the Susian texts, like the Amardian *sassa*. The form of the word is the same as that of *murun* „the earth”.

and inscriptions described by the Baron de Bode and Sir A. H. Layard. According to the Susian inscriptions Sutruk-Nakhkhunte (B. C. 710) had dealings with Attar-kittakh who „inhabited the town of Khapirti and the land of the mountains of Khitek”<sup>1)</sup>, and the *Khapirtip* or „people of Khapirti” are mentioned in the same inscription as that which records the names of the Uxians (*Khušši*), the Kušši, the Tigris and the Euphrates<sup>2)</sup>. Khapirti and Anzan, in fact, bordered one upon the other.

In the Amardian transcripts of the Akhæmenian inscriptions the word has obtained a much wider signification. It there denotes the whole of Susiana, and thus corresponds to the Elam of the Babylonian texts and the Uwaja of the Persian ones. It has in fact, taken the place of the older Anzan. Now there can be only one explanation of such an extension of the name. Just as Uwaja represents the whole of Susiana in the Persian texts, because the Uxii bordered on the Persians and were therefore the first Elamite population known to them, Khapirti in the Amardian texts must represent the whole of Susiana because it was the name most familiar to the readers of them. These readers must originally either have bordered on the plain of Mal-Amir, or else have been the inhabitants of the plain themselves. The first supposition is excluded by the fact that the Uxii on the south-east were too barbarous and insignificant to have had texts drawn up for their special benefit by the side of the Persian and Babylonian ones, while any neighbours on the north would have equally bordered on Anzan, the older and proper title of Susiana. On the other hand, both the language and the writing of the Amardian transcripts are the same as those of the Mal-Amir inscriptions, as I

1) Lenormant: *Choix de Textes Cuneiformes* II. No. 32, lines 24, 25.

2) Len. 42, line 4.



hope to show presently. Consequently these transcripts must have been primarily intended for the population of Khapirti or the plain of Mal-Amir, or at all events for persons who spoke their language.

Why this should have been so will be explained in the course of this Paper. Meanwhile I may anticipate my conclusions so far as to say that before the arrival of Teispes the Persian Susiana had been occupied by the kings of Khapirti, and this occupation must have naturally brought with it an extension of the Khapirtian language. The dialects of Anzan and Khapirti differed but slightly from one another, and the supplanting of the one by the other would accordingly have been no difficult matter.

The fact thus remains that the second language of the Akhæmenian inscriptions was the old dialect of Khapirti, and that it occupied the position it holds in the Akhæmenian texts, immediately after the Persian column, because it was regarded as the language of Kyros, king of Anzan, the founder of the empire, as well as of his capital Susa. Now according to Ktésias, the only Greek writer who had access to the Persian archives, Kyros was not of Persian descent, but was the son of a Mardian bandit. Strabo tells us (XI. 13. 3.) that the Mardians and Amardians were the same, and Mardians, as we have seen, were one of the four bandit nations who inhabited the mountains of Susiana. Nearkhos made them the neighbours of the Persians, but this can be only partially correct. In the Behistun Inscription (II. 7.) Khapirti is twice written *Khalpirti* „a Susianian”. Now *Khal* signified „a town”, though once at Behistun it is also used in the sense of „country”, and since Sutruk-Nakhkhunte speaks of *Khal Khapirti* „the town of Khapirti”, it is possible that *Khalpirti* is a contracted form of *Khal Khapirti* or else that *Khapirti* itself stands for *Khal-pirti* „the town of the assembly”. In the texts of Mal-Amir the name, as I



have said, is always written A'apir(ti). Sir H. Rawlinson long ago pointed out (*Jrl. R. A. S.* XV. p. 239) that traces of Khapirti may be detected in the אפרסכיא and אפרסחכיא of Ezra V. 6. and IV. 9. in the latter of which passages the name of the Apharsachites is written אפרסיא „Apharsites”. Mr. Norris also perceived that the Greek Ἀμάρδοι must be the same name. The form of the word has been slightly modified in Persian pronunciation by a *Volksetymologie* which assimilated it to the Persian *martiya* (*mard*) „man”, and hence Q. Curtius speaks of the Mardi (V. 6.) The result has been that the Amardi of Mal-Amir have been confounded with the Mardi of the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, whom Q. Curtius (VI. 5.) and Stephanus Byzantinus describe as a Hyrkanian tribe, while Strabo (p. 514) transforms them into Amardi.

As Amardian is more familiar to English ears than Khapirtian or A'apirtian, I shall henceforth call the so-called „Turanian” transcripts of the Akhæmenian texts, which Dr. Oppert terms »Medic”, by this name.

Dr. Oppert's argument in favour of his view that these texts represent the old language of Media resolve themselves into the following. (1) The Persian *Mada*, „Media”, is reproduced without alteration in the Amardian texts, whereas other proper names undergo change, while in opposition to the usual method of expressing the name of a country by a singular noun and the name of its inhabitants by a derivative in *-irra*, the plural *mada-be* signifies „Media” and the simple *Mada* „a Mede”. (2) Unlike the Persian and Babylonian versions, the Amardian merely mentions the name of Rhagæ, which it calls Rakkan, without adding that it was in Media. (3) The Persian title *ariya chitra* „of Aryan race” is transcribed and not translated in the Amardian column, while Ormazd is entitled „the Aryan god”<sup>1</sup>).

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1) *Le peuple et la Langue des Mèdes* pp. 12—14.

The last argument only proves that the readers for whom the Amardian version was drawn up were not Aryans, a fact already demonstrated by the character of their language. The second argument shows no more than that the writer of the Amardian version of the Behistun inscription was as well acquainted with the position of the Median Rhagæ as he was with that of Babylon, Pisiyâuvâdâ, Ekbatana and Arbela, none of which (except perhaps the second) are assigned to definite localities in any of the three versions. Had the Amardian version of the Behistun inscription been intended for Median readers, there would have been no need of stating that Kundurrus or Kudurush (II. 50.) near Rhagæ was „in Media”, or that so important a province as Kam-padene in the close neighbourhood of the capital Ekbatana was also in the same country (II. 20.) Upon Dr. Oppert's principles, it might be argued that the Amardian texts were written in Persia, because Pisiyâuvâdâ, called Pisihkhumadu, which he somewhat adventurously identifies with Pasargadæ, is not stated in them to have been in that part of the empire (I. 28). I do not understand his argument that Arbela was less familiar to the engravers of the Amardian version than Rhagæ, because it is followed by the expletive *khise* „named”, since this is attached to such well-known names as Kambyses and Gomates; nor again that the peculiar form Rakkan, instead of the Persian Ragâ or Babylonian Ragah shows it to have belonged to the people for whom the Amardian transcripts were inscribed. Dr. Oppert has forgotten that these transcripts mention another Rakkan which this time takes the place of the Persian Rakhâ (III. 8.), but this second Rakkan was in Persia, not Media. The same final nasal is found in Parsin, that is Pârsa „Persia”. As for his first argument it loses most of its force when closely examined. *Mada* is „a Mede” in only two passages (II. 61., III. 53.); while *mada-be* means „Medes” in II. 17., as well as

„Median” in II. 11, 15, 61. If *Mada-be* is „Media” so *Kharminiya-be* is „Armenia”, *Katbadukas-be* „Kappadokia”, and *Sugdās-be* „Sogdiana”. *Mada-be*, in fact, is the regular form of the plural „Medes”, like *Babilubbe* „Babylonians”, contracted into *Babilub*. *Mada* „a Mede”, moreover, does not stand alone, since we equally find *Iskuinka akka Sakka* „Iskuinka the Sakian”. The suffix *ra*, which after *i* becomes *irra*, i. e. *ira*, is really used to form adjectives only when definite individuals are denoted. Thus *ruh kir* is „a man”, but *ruh-irra* „the man”. As for the reproduction of the word *Mada* without alteration in the Amardian texts, that is easily accounted for. The rules of Amardian phonology did not require a single letter to be altered. Had it been *Mata* in Persian we should have had *Mada* in Amardian, but not contrariwise. There is no *ta* in the Amardian syllabary.

Dr. Oppert’s arguments against identifying Amardian with the language of Susiana or Anzan, affect Dr. Mordtmann’s views, not mine. In the Susian texts the Tigris and Euphrates are called by their Babylonian names, whereas in Amardian the names are borrowed from Persian, which only shows that the original speakers of the Amardian language lived at a greater distance from these rivers than did the natives of Susa. The dialect of the Susian inscriptions, again, though closely allied to that of the Amardian texts, is yet distinct from it. But the alliance is so close that the two dialects must have been spoken side by side, or at all events in the near neighbourhood of one another; and this was actually the case as regards Susian and Amardian but not as regards Susian and Median. The Elamite dialect, that of the Kosæans, spoken on the north of Susiana and on the frontiers of Media differed considerably from those of Susa and Khapirti, if we may judge from the scanty remains of it preserved in Assyrian glosses.

The monuments in the plain of Mal-Amir were first

described by the Baron de Bode (*Jrl. R. G. S.* XIII. pp. 100—102; 1843). The plain lies a little to the north-east of Hallágán and immediately to the south of Susan, from which it is divided by the lofty range of the Jiljird or Chiliwir mountains<sup>1</sup>). The remains of an ancient paved road, which ran from Persepolis to Susa (now *Sus* or *Shush*), are to be found in it, as well as traces of canals by which it was once watered. According to Sir A. H. Layard, however, good water is now deficient, since, though a small stream of brackish water flows through the midst of the principal group of mounds, and the eastern end of the plain is converted into a marsh in winter and spring, the stream (the Shah Ruben) which makes its way from Mal-Amir to Hallágán through a narrow gorge is frequently dry.

The place was explored by Sir A. H. Layard about the time of the Baron de Bode's visit, and his account of it is given in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* XVI. pp. 74—80<sup>2</sup>). After leaving the valley of Asmári south-west of Hallágán, where numerous ruined villages of the Sassanian period exist, and where the traveller was told that sculptures and an inscription were carved near a sulphur-spring in the western extremity of Asmári, Sir A. H. Layard crossed into the plain of Hallágán by the old paved road and then through

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1) According to Sir A. H. Layard (*Jrl. R. G. S.* XVI. p. 61) the ruins of Susan, which is the name of a small valley through which runs the Karún, are both Sassanian and pre-Sassanian. "The right bank of the river, as it enters the valley from the N. E. is covered for nearly two miles by a confused mass of rough stones unhewn and piled without symmetry one over the other; numerous foundations of the same materials are also discernible." Mounds and brick-work appear along the course of the river, as well as paved roads and two vast brick buttresses which once supported the arches of a bridge at least 100 feet high. The Baron de Bode was informed (*Jrl. R. G. S.* XIII. p. 102) that at the distance of one day's journey from Susan and two from Shuster there is a cavern at the entrance to which some figures are sculptured to the right and left of a long cuneiform inscription.

2) A brief report of his travels, dated Karack, Dec. 31, 1840, was given by Sir A. H. Layard in the *Jrl. R. G. S.* XII. pp. 102 sq. He there says that the plain of Mal-Amir is called Hong.



a ravine into the plain of Mal-Amir which is enclosed on all sides by precipitous cliffs. The entrance to the pass, he says, „was once guarded by two forts of the most solid construction, the remains of which still exist. Around are numerous mounds and foundations marking the site of a town.” Towards the eastern extremity of the plain „are the ruins of a very ancient city. They consist of a large tappeh rising upon the summit of a vast irregular mound <sup>1)</sup>. This appears to have been the castle, and to have been surrounded by numerous smaller mounds. Foundations of brick are exposed after rain. Near these ruins there are no stones similar to those used in the Sasanian buildings.... Sculptures occur in four distinct places in the plain; three are Kayanian and the fourth Sasanian. The most remarkable are those in the Kul Fara’ún, a small tang or gorge to the N. of the ruins. They occupy a recess in the mountains which appears to have been the site of a building or an altar. The remains of the Kayanian epoch occupy five distinct places. The figures are altogether about 340 in number. The principal group is a bas-relief to the left on entering the gorge, situated high on the face of the mountains, but easily reached. It is a large tablet consisting of ten figures traversed by a long cuneiform inscription in a perfect state of preservation <sup>2)</sup>. The principal figure is nearly in the centre, and probably represents a priest. He is clothed in long robes, reaching to his ankles, richly ornamented and edged with a fringe. His beard falls in curls upon his breast, across which his arms are folded. Five lines in the cuneiform character are engraved on a portion of the robes, probably the name and titles of the person represented. Several lines in the same character appear on the lower

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1) According to the Baron de Bode one of the artificial mounds in the plain „may be compared in height with the great mound at Shúsh” (Susa).

2) This is our inscription n<sup>o</sup>. I. (Layard, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, ppl. 36, 37.)

part of the dress <sup>1)</sup>. The face, like that of all the other figures, has been purposely mutilated. This figure is about 4 feet in height. Behind it are two smaller figures, one above the other, the upper being 1 foot 4 inches, and the lower 1 foot 7 inches in height. The first wears a short tunic, and a loose garment falls from his shoulders to his ankles. In his right hand he holds a bow. The other has an ornamented robe reaching to his ankles, and a girdle encircling his waist. His arms are folded on his breast, as those of the large figure, and his long beard falls in curls. In front of the principal figure are 7 smaller figures. Three upper figures have instruments of music and wear long robes reaching to their feet, and bound round the waist with a girdle. The first holds a square instrument so much defaced that its nature cannot be determined. The second has also a square stringed instrument, somewhat resembling in shape the Zantúr of the present day. The third carries a harp of a peculiar construction. It has many strings, which are brought down, and, after having been united, again spread out and form a triangle with the base of the instrument. These figures are 1 foot 3 inches in height. Beneath them is represented a man in a short tunic seizing a pázan, the ibex or mountain-goat, with spreading horns. Beneath him are three heads of the mouflon or mountain sheep. Behind them, one above the other, are three animals, probably dead, and turned upon their backs. They appear to represent wild boars, but are much mutilated. This figure is 9 inches in height. Beneath it are three figures, 10 inches high. They have tunics descending to the knees, and are offering a sacrifice. Two men are leading an animal, probably a bullock, to a mushroom-shaped altar, over which the third extends his hands, and appears to preside. Most of these figures

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1) These, together with the five lines just mentioned, constitute our inscription Ia.

have a small inscription in the cuneiform character upon them, which does not form a part of the long inscription, but perhaps contains the name and station of the person. The principal inscription, which consists of 24 lines in a complicated character, traverses the tablet uninterrupted by the figures, over the draperies of which it is sometimes carried. The whole length of the tablet is 5 feet, 6 inches, and the height averages 4 feet. The rock above projects considerably beyond the sculptures, and consequently shelters them from the inclemency of the weather; the inscription has thus been preserved. The design is bold, and the execution good.

In the gorge, a large triangular block has its faces covered with sculptures. The principal face has a large figure 6 feet 10 inches in height. It has suffered much from long exposure to the weather, and the features are not distinguishable. It probably represents a priest in the attitude of prayer; the hands are elevated. The robe descends to the feet, and a girdle encircles the waist. Behind this figure are four rows of smaller figures, 1 foot 10 inches in height, with hands similarly extended. The first row contains 19, the first of which are somewhat larger than the others. In the second row are 16 figures, and in the third the same number; in the fourth row are 19 figures. Beneath the large figure, I believe there have been four busts, but they are now so much mutilated as to be scarcely distinguishable. In front of the large figure, there are three rows of smaller figures with extended hands. In the first row there are two figures, in the second three, in the third four, of the same height as the smaller figures before described. On the second face, there is a large figure 6 feet 5 inches in height, with its hands joined on the breast. The features, and, indeed, the whole body, are much defaced. In the front there are two rows of small figures similar to those on the first face. The first row contains seven, the second nine. Behind the large

figure are three rows of small figures, the first containing 13, the second 14, and the third 18. The third face is entirely occupied by similar small figures disposed in four rows, and 53 in number. All these figures have their hands joined and extended as if in the act of prayer. A second detached block in the gorge has one face sculptured with one figure 6 feet 4 inches in height. It is that of an old man with a long beard, and his features are in better preservation than those of the other sculptures. A tunic descends below his knees, and his hands are elevated, but not joined as in the other figures, the forefinger of each hand being extended. His headdress is peculiar, and appears to resemble that of a figure in the Shikafti Salmán, which I shall hereafter describe. Behind this figure are four smaller figures 1 foot 3 inches in height. They are carved in a very slight relief, and are almost effaced. They wear long robes, and their arms appear to be joined on their breasts. In front of the large figure are the remains of a figure or sign, but so much effaced that I was unable to determine its nature or object.

In a recess on the side opposite to the tablet first described, and on the face of the rock, there are 113 figures, mostly with their hands elevated, and similar to the small figures above described. In an angle of the rock are five rows of figures. In the top row a monarch is represented sitting on a throne; above him and by his side are his attendants. They are so much effaced that they can with difficulty be distinguished. In the second row six figures face four others. The first figure of the six appears to have a bow in his hand; some appear to have their hands bound. The third, fourth and fifth rows are nearly similar to the second. The right hand figure of all these rows has the right hand elevated to its face, its elbow being bent at right angles. They are 1 foot 7 inches in height. Below the king are two figures. Near this group is a large figure, much effaced, with



its arms extended and hands joined, similar to the large figure on the triangular block already described. On a solitary block at the entrance of the gorge, there is a figure about 7 feet in height; its hands are elevated and its fingers pointed upwards. To the right are nine figures, two 2 feet in height. Beneath the large figure there are four others 2 feet 10 inches in height.

These sculptures are evidently of a very early epoch, and appear to me to be of higher antiquity than any other sculptures of the kind with which I am acquainted in Persia.

On the same side of the plain, to the E., there is a small tablet near a ruined Imám-Zádeh, called Sháh-Suwár. A natural slip in the mountain has left a scarp of great elevation, which the Lurs, believing to be artificial, attribute to the Gabrs. High up from the ground, and difficult of access, on the face of this scarp, there is a small bas-relief, consisting of six figures, evidently of the Kayanian era. A monarch is seated on a throne, and five prisoners, with their hands bound, stand before him. The figures are about 2 feet in height, and so much effaced by long exposure to the weather that they are now scarcely distinguishable. A place [? space] beneath the sculptures was probably once occupied by an inscription, no trace of which however now remains. The Lurs have many traditions relating to this spot, and pretend that an Imám on a black horse once visited this part of the plain, from which circumstance the Imám-Zádeh has received its name. They yearly sacrifice sheep here; and I suspect that the tradition is of a much remoter period than the time of the Imáms.

On the southern side of the plain of Mál-Amír, in a narrow gorge, is an extensive cave [called Shikafti Salmán]<sup>1</sup>).

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1) According to the Baron de Bode there are two caves, the lesser cave on the right having „some huge stones cemented together, which may have served for the base to an altar”.

Within this cave there is a natural recess, on both sides of which are figures. That on the right has a long robe descending to its ankles; its arms appear to have been folded on its breast. The beard descends in curls almost to the breast, and the head-dress resembles that worn by the priests of the Magi. It appears to consist of a cap fitted close to the head, and advancing in a double fold over the forehead. The figure to the left has its arms elevated and its hands joined in the attitude of prayer; a tunic descends to its knees; its head-dress is similar to that of the other figures. Both are considerably above the natural size. The proportions and design are very good.

An inscription, almost perfect, exists to the left of the figure first described: it consists of 36 lines in a complicated cuneiform character<sup>1</sup>). An inscription probably [once] existed to the left of the second figure, but water percolating through the rock has completely effaced it. On the dresses of the figures are also long fragments of inscriptions<sup>2</sup>). On the opposite side of the cave, high on the rocks, there are two tablets. The first contains three large and two small figures. The first to the left is about half the size of the larger figures. It probably represents a child. Its hands are folded

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1) This is our inscription n°. II. (Layard, *Cun. Insc.* ppl. 31, 32, where no notice is taken of the obliterated last line).

2) The Baon de Bode says that in the more spacious cavern to the left of the lesser one "are two colossal figures sculptured on the wall, but almost entirely obliterated by the water oozing through the crevices of the rock. An immense inscription, which takes up nearly the whole space between the figures, has suffered equally from the same cause. One of the figures is represented in profile, and looks towards the smaller cave, where I presume the altar must have stood, with his hands clasped, and in what seems to be an attitude of adoration. The outlines of the figure are in good proportion, and I thought I could discover some arrow-headed characters on his short garment. The figure to the left is less graceful, and has its face turned full to the beholder. It has fronting you a long beard ending in two curls, and a lock of hair falling down the shoulders, somewhat in the Hebrew fashion. The inscription I have just alluded to consists of 33 lines, from 8 to 10 feet in length. It is in arrow-headed characters, but greatly injured by the oozing of water through the rock".

on its breast, and its robes descend to its ankles. The second figure, which is about 4 feet high, is that of an old man with a long beard; his hands are elevated, and his fingers extended, as in the figures described in the Kul Fara'ún. His tunic descends to his knees, and his head-dress consists of a peculiar kind of cap, falling over the ears, and advancing over the forehead. The third figure has a similar tunic and head-dress, and its hands are joined above the breast. The fourth, which is of the size of the first, has the arms joined or folded on the breast; a tunic descends to the knees. The fifth probably represents a woman; the right hand is raised and one of its fingers extended; a long robe descends to its feet, and a cap like a bag falls behind the head. The second tablet contains three figures; the first has the arms folded on the breast, a tunic descends to the knees, and the head-dress appears to be similar to that of the small figures in the other tablet. The beard descends in close and well-defined curls upon the breast. The second is that of a child, and is half the size of the others; the arms are folded on the breast, and the tunic descends to the knees. The third is that of a woman, the hands joined and the head-dress similar to that of the female in the first tablet <sup>1)</sup>. There appear to be fragments of cuneiform inscriptions on the drapery of the three figures. I was unable to reach them, and consequently could not examine these inscriptions. The figures are about 4 feet in height. The relief is good, and the sculpture bold and well executed.

At the extremity of the gorge are the ruins of an edifice of hewn stone, which appears to have been a fire-temple or altar. At the entrance of the gorge, there are also ruins of

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1) The man's cap, according to the Baron de Bode, is angular and his tunic has short sleeves, while the features of the female figure are delicate and regular, and the head-dress somewhat resembles the chaste style of the Grecian statues'. We shall see from the translation of the inscription that the woman's name is Ammaziras.

buildings. These remains, however, appear to be Sasanian, while the tablets are unquestionably of the Kayanian era" <sup>1)</sup>.

Sir A. H. Layard subsequently points out that Mal-Amir is the site of the Sasanian city of Aidij, mentioned in the Murásid el-Ittilá<sup>2</sup>. Aidij is evidently the Khidi of the Mal-Amir inscriptions, the Khiteik of the Susian texts.

Copies of the sculptures in the cave of the Shikafti Salmán, made by the Baron de Bode, are published in Flandin's *Voyage en Perse*, Vol. IV. ppl. 226 and 228 <sup>2)</sup>.










Some of the inscriptions were copied by Sir A. H. Layard. These are the inscription of the Shikafti Salmán in 36 lines and that of the Kul Fara'un in 24 lines, together with some of the short inscriptions which run across the figures at the latter place. They are published in Layard's *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from the Assyrian Monuments* plates 31, 32, 36, 37. Though a good number of the characters are miscopied or marked as doubtful, while numerous lacunæ occur, the constant repetition of the same words and phrases allows the larger part of the texts to be restored by means of a careful collation. Dr. Oppert has given a trans-










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

1) Sir A. H. Layard heard from the Lurs of inscriptions at Junjerí above 'Akílí (in the valley of the Karún, between Súsan and Shushter) and of inscriptions and sculptures at Lalar Kotek (a mountain eastward of 'Akílí) and Asmári; also of inscriptions at Serhúní near Meí Dáwud (on the Tezeng S. of Hallágan) KaPat 'Arabán near Rám-Hormuz, Masjid and Ka'ah Garah near Tal Khayyát, (E. of Shuster), Pái-ráh near Súsan, and Puli-Negín (near Lalar Kotek) as well as of inscriptions and sculptures at Tuwah Dóverah (the mountain-range NE. of Súsan); but he considers the existence of all these latter to be doubtful. The Karún or Kúran may be the Pasitigris of the ancients.

2) It will be noticed that in most of these sculptures the dress does not reach below the knees. This, Q. Curtius states (VI, 5), was a peculiarity of the Mardians on the Persian frontier, which distinguished them from their Persian neighbours. The caves in which he further states they preferred to live remind us of the cave of the Shikafti Salmán. In Flandin's plate the position of the figures on either side of the cuneiform inscription (n<sup>o</sup>. II) is the reverse of that described by Layard, the bearded figure, which we know to represent king Takhkhí-khi-kutur, from the inscription which runs across his robes at the Kul Fara'un, being on the left of the inscription, not on the right, while the standing figure is on the right and not on the left.










literation of the Kul Fara'un text in a Paper read before the first Congress of Orientalists in 1873, but it is by no means successful owing to the erroneous values assigned to so many of the characters. Thus  is read *ki*,  *su* and *sun*,  *te*,  *lik-ka* and *ma-ka*,  *au*,  *ik*,  *kur*,  *ma*,  *ha*, while *ipri* is translated „*terram*” and *mina* „*numeri*”. In my own Paper in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, already referred to, I had made out the real values of most of these characters in consequence of my recognising that the Mal-Amir syllabary is simply an other form of that of the Amardian texts. I further pointed out the resemblance of Mal-Amir and Amardian grammar in several particulars, as well as the signification of several Mal-Amir words.

It is not difficult to show that the system of writing and syllabary of Mal-Amir and of the Amardian transcripts are one and the same. Thus in both the words do not necessarily end with a line, as in the Accadian, Sumerian, Assyrian, Babylonian and Vannic inscriptions; and the determinative of „country” is not necessarily  but , which may be omitted before the names of well-known localities <sup>1</sup>). Though the determinative  is prefixed to a proper name it is omitted before a name which follows the word *sak* „son”, and the determinative of „a city” is not  but , the determinative of „a river” not   but  . These peculiarities would of themselves raise a presumption that the


1) Where  is used, it seems to mean „mountain” as in Susian. Since *gas* signifies „lands” in Kassite, it is possible that  was selected by the Susians and Amardians to denote „a place” in consequence of its having the value of *as*. The ordinary character for *as* was employed phonetically, and confusion was consequently avoided by finding some other character which might be used as a determinative.

Mal-Amir and Amardian texts employed the same system of writing; but the presumption becomes a certainty when we find that the number of phonetic characters and ideographs used in each is about the same, that the same letters, or rather sounds, are wanting in each, that the characters have the same values in each, and above all that the characters have in each the same peculiar forms. The weight of this last fact will be understood when it is remembered that the forms are unlike those of the same characters in any other system of cuneiform writing while in several instances the Mal-Amir forms explain how the Amardian ones arose and determine the values of some of the latter which are doubtful. Since each character (with one exception) has but one value, moreover, the importance of the fact that both Mal-Amir or Khapirtian and Amardian have selected the same values for polyphonous characters will be appreciated.

It cannot be an accident that both syllabaries have rejected  *ka*,  *ga*,  *ki*,  *ku*, and  *gu* among the gutturals, retaining only *ka*, *ki*, *ku* and *gi*, or that *ta* and *te* are wanting in both while  is used for *be* in place of  *bi* which has only the value of *kas*. *Up*, again, is wanting in both, though *ap* and *ip* occur frequently, and both have the series *an*, *in*, *en* and *un*. But the comparative table of characters printed below will best illustrate the close agreement that exists between the two syllabaries in this respect. It will further show how remarkably they agree in the small selected list of ideographs as well as of characters denoting syllables beginning and ending with a consonant.

Still more remarkable is the resemblance of forms. Mr. Norris in his memorable „Memoir on the Scythic version of the Behistun Inscription” endeavoured to derive the phonetic values of the Amardian characters from the proper names

in which they occurred. Dr. Oppert more correctly went to the Assyrian syllabary and found in it the values to be assigned to the corresponding characters in the Amardian texts. But he could not shake himself wholly free from the influences of the false method pursued by Norris, and accordingly admits values for the Amardian characters which differ more or less considerably from those which they have in the syllabaries of Assyria, Babylonia, Van, Susa and Kapadokia, in fact in all the cuneiform syllabaries with which we are acquainted. He even goes so far as to suppose that the vowel or initial consonant of open syllables might be differently sounded at the discretion of the reader. No doubt this was the case with characters the first consonant of which was indifferently *m* or *v* (or rather *w*), but this was because the syllabaries of Babylonia, Assyria and Susa also made no distinction between these sounds. It is quite otherwise with the remaining characters in which no such variation was known to the Assyro-Babylonians. There is absolutely no reason for reading *a* as *yi*, *kha* as *a*, *da* as *ta*, *um* as *im*, *ir* as *ar* and *ur*, *ul* as *al*, *il*, *ul* and *l*, *khar* as *ar*, *kur* as *kar* or *gar*, or *dan* as *tin*. With all the laxities of transcription Dr. Oppert allows himself, he is yet obliged to admit that the Amardians, as we will call them, found great difficulty in pronouncing Assyrian and Persian proper names and consequently did not reproduce them with absolute fidelity. To imagine that they did so, is not only to involve oneself in hopeless confusion, but also to forget that the pronunciation of no two peoples coincides, especially when they belong to different linguistic stocks. We Englishmen do not pronounce Paris or Lyons or Marseilles as a Frenchman would, and we have only to turn to the transcription of Persian names in the Assyrian texts to see how far removed from their correct pronunciation many of them are. If it is alleged that a particular character must

represent more than one vowel or consonant because otherwise these would be unrepresented, I can only reply that this is a mere assumption, and in certain cases can be proved to be false. Thus Dr. Oppert reads *dan* as *dan*, *tan* and *tin*. But the want of a special character for *ta* goes to show that the Amardians did not know the latter sound, while we shall see the Mal-Amir inscriptions indicate that they actually possessed a particular character for *din*, which has been misread *mak* by Dr. Oppert. The dental seems to have been a decaying sound in Amardian and the allied dialects. Thus in Susian *kutir* is „a minister” formed by the suffix *r(a)* from *kuti* which in Amardian means „to carry” or „bear”. In the dialect of Evutbal this became *kudur*, while in Kossæan the dental between two vowels disappeared altogether, *Kadara* becoming *Kâra*, just as Uru-das whom the Assyrians identified with their Bel-Merodach became Urus (W. A. I. II. 62, 24). In Susian itself Khul-ludus is also written Khullus. There was, however, one sound which, as I have already noticed, was peculiar to the Amardians and to which, therefore, nothing in the Assyrian syllabary corresponded. This was an aspirate which I believe resembled the Arabic , and which, like the Athenians of old or the Cockneys of today, they had a tendency to prefix to words beginning with a vowel. Hence it is that on the one side, the termination of the first person of the verb is variously written *akh*, *ah* and simply *a*, while *hu* „I” is written *khu* in an inscription of Artaxerxes at Susa (XVIII, 5)<sup>1)</sup>, and on the other side the Persian *Ainaira* becomes *Kha'ana'ara* and Armenia is written *Kharmînuya*. Norris and Oppert read *nu* as *ni*, regardless of the fact that Amardian like all the other cuneiform syllabaries possesses

1) The roman numerals attached to the Amardian inscriptions indicate their order in Norris and Oppert.



𐎶𐎶 *ni* as well as 𐎶𐎵 *nu*. Probably the *u* was pronounced *ü*.

A certain number of the characters in the Amardian transcripts do not occur in proper names, and Norris was therefore able only to guess at their values. Oppert has determined the values of several of them with great acuteness, partly by comparing them with Assyrian forms, partly by philological considerations. Thus he makes 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *'si*, which is shown to be right by the Mal-Amir 𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶𐎶, as has already been recognised by him. The form goes back to the cursive Susian 𐎶𐎶𐎶 from the older 𐎶𐎶𐎶. The values of a few characters must still unfortunately remain doubtful.

The following is a comparative table of the Mal-Amir and Amardian characters, with their values and significations, and Assyrian equivalents.

Mal-Amir:	Amardian:	Assyrian:	Value:
1. 𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶, Bab. 𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶	a
2. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶	a'a (ha)
3. 𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	e
4. 𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶, Bab. 𐎶𐎶𐎶	i
5. 𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶	u
6. 𐎶𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	hu
7. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	ya
8. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶	ah, h
9. 𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶, Bab. 𐎶𐎶𐎶	kha
10. 𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶𐎶 Ar. 1)	𐎶𐎶, Bab. 𐎶𐎶𐎶	khi
11. 𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	khu
12. 𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶, (ḳa)	ka
13. 𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	ki
14. 𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	𐎶𐎶𐎶	ku

1) In the Inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon at Susa (No. XVIII.)

Mal-Amir:	Amardian:	Assyrian:	Value:
15.	Ar.		gi
16.		, Bab.	ak
17.	Ar.		ik
		, Bab.	uk
18.	Ar.		ba
19.			be; see No. 78.
20.	Ar.		bu, pu
21.			pa
22.			pi
23.			ap, ab
24.		, Bab.	ip, ib
25.			da
26.			
27.		, Bab.	di
28.			du
29.			ti
30.			tu
31.	<sup>2)</sup>		at
32.			ut
33. Not found.	(found only once) <sup>3)</sup> .		la
34. ?  (only once).	?  (found only once) <sup>4)</sup> .		li
35.		(lav)	lu

1) Very unusual, and where it occurs probably an error for the other form.

































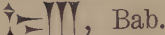















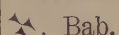





























2) So in the photograph in Stolze's *Persepolis* I. pl. 21.

3) In III. 23, where however Stolze's photograph (II. 95.) has , so that Oppert's *la* is very probably wrong.

4) In *Ir-ma-li* Beh. III. 31. *Li* should perhaps be corrected into *ul*.

Mal-Amir:	Amardian:	Assyrian:	Value:
36.	Not found.	Bab.	al
37.			ul <sup>1)</sup>
38.		Bab.	ma, va
39.		Bab.	mi, vi
40.			mu, vu
41.		Bab.	am
42.			um
43.			na
44.			ni
45.		,	nu
46.			an
47.		Bab.	in
48.		Bab.	un
49.		Bab.	en
50.		Bab.	ra
51.			ri
52.	<sup>2)</sup>		ru
53.	Not found.		ar
54.			ir
55.			za
56.		(tsi)	zi
57.		(tsu)	zu
58.		Bab.	'sa
59.		Bab.	'si
60.  ,	<sup>3)</sup>		'su

1) For *el* see No. 70.2) So in Stolze's *Persepolis*, I, Pl. 21.3) So in the photograph in Stolze's *Persepolis*, I, Pl. 21.

Mal-Amir :	Amardian :	Assyrian :	Value :
61. . . . .	 ,  <sup>1)</sup>		az
62. 			iz
63. 		 , Bab. 	sa
64.  , 			si
65. 			su
66. 		 , Bab. 	se
67. 	Not found.	 , also Susian)	se
68. 		 , Bab. 	is
69. 			as
70. 		 , Bab. 	el
71. 			khal
72. 		 , Bab. 	khar
73. . . . .			kam, gam, gū
74. . . . .	 <sup>2)</sup>	 , Bab. 	kar, gar
75. 		 , Bab. 	kur, (gur)
76. 			kas, gas
77. 			kan, gan
78. 		 , Bab. 	ban, pan
79. 			bar, par
80. See No. 20.			bat, pat
81.  , 	Not found.		pal
82. 			pir, bir
83. 			dan, tan
84. 		 , Bab. 	din, tin

1) So in Stolze, Pl. 21.

2) This character is misprinted in the syllabary in Oppert's *Le Peuple et la langue des Mèdes*, as well as in Ménant's *Syllabaire* and *Grammaire*. The preceding character (No. 72) is also misprinted in Oppert's Syllabary.



Mal-Amir:	Amardian:	Assyrian:	Value:
85.	Not found.		dir, tir
86.	Not found.	, Bab.	takh, dakh
87.		, Bab.	tak, dak
88. . . . .	(only once found).		tik
89. Not found.			tip, dup
90.			tum
91.			tar, (perhaps also dar)
92.			tur, (dur)
93. Not found.			tas, das
94.		, Bab.	mak, mag
95.			man, van
96. . . . .	<sup>1)</sup> (only once found)		maz
97.			mas, vas (plural suffix)
98.	(at Elwend.)	, Bab.	mes, ves (plural suffix)
99.  (I. 9.)	(only twice found <sup>2)</sup> )		mus, vus
100. Not found.			nap, nab
101.		, Bab.	rikh
102. . . . .		, Bab.	rak, rag
103.		, Bab.	rab, rap
104.			ras

1) Misprinted in Oppert's Syllabary. It occurs only in VI. 25.

2) VI. 42, 47. It may represent *uz*.

Mal-Amir:	Amardian:	Assyrian:	Value:
105. . . . .	≡≡≡≡ (only once found <sup>1)</sup> )	≡≡≡≡	rik
106. ≡≡≡≡ <sup>2)</sup>	≡≡≡≡	≡≡≡≡	zik, zig
107. ≡≡≡	≡≡≡	≡≡≡	sin
108. ≡≡≡≡	≡≡≡≡	≡≡≡≡	šir
109. ≡≡≡	≡≡≡	≡≡, Bab. ≡≡	tuk, duk
110. ≡≡≡ (only once found.)	Not found.	≡≡≡	num
111. . . . .	≡≡≡≡	? ≡≡≡≡	? khup
112. . . . .	≡≡≡ <sup>3)</sup>	?	?
113. ≡≡	. . . . .	?	?





















































## IDEOGRAPHS:

1. ≡≡ ≡≡ (I. 17.)	≡≡ ≡≡	≡≡ ≡≡ „water”	„a river”
2. ≡≡≡	≡≡≡ Ar. ≡≡≡	≡≡≡	„a king”
3. ≡≡≡ (II. 2.)	≡≡≡	≡≡≡	„a man” ( <i>rukḥ</i> )
4. ≡≡ (I. 10.)	≡≡≡	≡≡≡	„mountains”
5. ≡≡≡ (II. 21.)	≡≡≡ (VI, 47.)	≡≡≡	„roads”
6. ? ≡≡ (I. 20.)	≡≡ (Beh. I. 48.)	≡≡	„incantation”, „religious hymn”
7. ≡≡ (I. 9.)	≡≡≡ (L. 5.)	≡≡≡	„additions”
8. ≡≡ (I. 10.)	≡≡ (Beh. I. 14.)	≡≡	„in all” ( <i>tartuk</i> )
9. ≡≡ (I. 9.)	Not found.	≡≡≡	„names”








1) Misprinted in Oppert's Syllabary. It occurs only in *Beh.* II. 58.

2) No doubt miscopied.

3) Only found in III. 22. where Stolze's photograph (*Persepolis* II. pl. 95) shows that Oppert is wrong in resolving it into *khu-be*.

Mal-Amir:	Amaradian:	Assyrian:	Value:
10.  (II. 33.)	 (XVIII. 4.)		„fire”
11.  (II. 22, 33.)	Not found.	 	„fortresses”
12.  (II. 19.)	  	 Bab. 	„a month”
13. . . . .	  	 	„a ship”
14. . . . .	  	  	„horse”
15. . . . .	  	  	„camel”
16.   	. . . . .	  	„the Sun-god”
   (I. 24.)	. . . . .	  	„publicly”
17.   	. . . . .	  	„the Moon-god”
18. . . . .	   (Beh. I. 16.)	 	„the evening”

## DETERMINATIVES.

Mal-Amir:	Amaradian:	Assyrian:	Use:
1. 			Before the names of men, the first person, etc.
2.  (II. 21.)	Not found.		Before the names of women.
3. 		. . . . .	Before the names of places and local objects.

	Mal-Amir:	Amardian:	Assyrian:	Use:
4.	𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎠𐎡𐎢, 𐎠𐎡𐎢 (Van)	𐎠𐎡𐎢	The plural affix, interchanging with <i>mas</i> .
5.	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎠𐎡 𐎠𐎡𐎢	.....	Before the name of a river.
6.	𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎠𐎡𐎢	Before the names of divine objects, including months and days.
7.	𐎠𐎡	𐎠𐎡	.....	Before the names of towns.

𐎠𐎡𐎢 is prefixed, not only to the names of deities (as in Assyro-Babylonian and Vannic), but also to the words: *nap* „god”, *kikka* or *kik* „the sky”, *kammas* or *gu-mas* „the sea”, *siyan* „a temple”, the unknown word for „a month”, and *nan* „a day”. But *siyan* is written without the prefix at Mal-Amir (II. 14.), as is also the ideograph of „month” (I. 19.)

The characters 𐎠𐎡 *khum*, 𐎠𐎡 *h* and 𐎠𐎡𐎢 *tir*, which appear in Dr. Oppert's list, are omitted in mine, as I can find no proof whatever of their existence.

With the one exception of 𐎠𐎡, which is not quite certain and in any case caused no confusion, no Amardian characters have more than one value; one of the chief objects aimed at in the selection of the syllabary was the avoidance of polyphony. Hence we should require very clear evidence for the polyphony assumed by Dr. Oppert in the three characters just quoted, and no evidence at all is forthcoming. To 𐎠𐎡 he ascribes the value of *khum* in a single passage only, Beh. I. 56., where it seems to form the first syllable of the





proper name which answers to the Persian Upadarañma. Oppert assumes that it is a Susianian name, and that the first part of it is the name of the Susian God Khumba. But in this case we should have Uba- and not Upa-. Moreover the initial *Uk* of the Amardian Uk-ba-tar-ra-an-ma is not certain on the squeeze, as Norris has already noted. We should perhaps read  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$  or  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ . If the name were really Susianian the Persians may easily have modified the initial *Ukba* into *Upa* so as to connect it with their own preposition *upā*. Dr. Oppert's *h* has still less argument in its favour, resting as it does on the transcription of the Persian name Dāduhya by Da-ad-du-van-ya (*Beh.* IV. 91). The Babylonian has Zatu, which is even more unlike the Persian form than the Amardian one is. The Persian form, moreover, may be read Dādūñhya. Palaeographically neither of the Amardian characters can be connected with any Assyrian ones which have the values of *khum* and *h*. The same must be said of Dr. Oppert's *tir*, which indeed he allows in his glossary „may be *šī*”. His only reason for making it *tir* is that it is followed by a syllable beginning with *r* in the words *šira* „I shut up” (not „hung” as Dr. Oppert translates), and *širi* „ear”.

The discovery of the value of *duk* or *tuk* (N<sup>o</sup>. 109) is one upon which Dr. Oppert may well congratulate himself. He acutely noticed that in the words *ti-X-ka* and *ti-ud-X-ra* „a liar” by the side of *tidinra* „he will lie” and *titkimmas* „a lie”, as well as in *is-X-ra* which is coupled with *ibbakra* in *Beh.* III. 80—1, the character marked X can hardly have any other value than *d-k* or *t-k*. A comparison with the Assyro-Babylonian  $\text{𐎶}$  *tuk*, *duk* completes the identification and indicates that the vowel required is *u*. Dr. Oppert believes that the character has accidentally assumed the same form as *ras*; the squeeze of the Behistun inscription, however, seems to show that there was a difference between the two,

as will be seen from the Syllabary. This is confirmed by the form of the Mal-Amir equivalent of *tuk* which corresponds to the Babylonian. That it had the value of *tuk* is rendered certain by its occurrence in the word *tar-tuk* (II. 9, 13.) which from its position must be the Amardian *tartuka* and *tartuak* „completely”. As is the case in other characters the Amardian has transferred the horizontal wedges from the left to the right side, further simplifying the character by dropping what becomes the superfluous wedge on the right.

When we compare the Amardian with the Mal-Amir forms we find that they chiefly differ from the latter in three respects. The wedges are shifted, wherever it is possible, to the right, as has just been noticed; wedge-heads are turned into horizontal wedge-lines; and an attempt is made to produce uniformity by arranging the horizontal wedges in groups of fours. It is evident that it is the Amardian characters which have thus been modified, since the Mal-Amir forms are nearer those of Babylonia and Susa, some Mal-Amir characters, like the ideograph of „man” for instance, forming a link between those of Babylonia and those of the Amardian texts. Now and then, as in the inscription photographed in plate 21 of Stolze's *Persepolis* vol. I., the Amardian forms relapse into those of Mal-Amir. On the other hand, the Amardian and Mal-Amir forms agree so strikingly in all those peculiarities which mark them off from any other system of cuneiform writing that they cannot be separated from each other; we are bound therefore to consider them as constituting a single group, those of Mal-Amir differing from those of the Amardian transcripts only in being older. See especially nos. 13, 14, 25, 35, 42, 49, 50, 51, 56, 77, 84.

The form of *a* (N<sup>o</sup>. 1.) is also found in Babylonian but at a comparatively late period. I find  once for *a* in cursive Susian. The doubled *a'a*, or rather *â* (as Dr. Haupt has proved), is the origin of the *a* of the Persian alphabet ()

for   The Persian *i*  is similarly derived from .

*I* (n°. 4.) has the same form in Babylonian and Susian.

*Hu* (n°. 6.) resembles the Susian rather than the Assyrian or Babylonian forms.



*Ah* (n°. 8.) reminds us of the cursive Susian.





*Kha* (n°. 9.) has the Babylonian form. In cursive Susian





I find no forms like *ki* (n°. 13.) and *ku* (n°. 14.) in either Babylonian, Susian or cursive Susian.

*Ak* (n°. 16.) has sometimes the same form in cursive Susian.



*Uk* (n°. 18.) is the Babylonian , Susian .


The value given to No. 20 in both the Mal-Amir and the Amardian syllabaries is striking, since it is of Assyrian and not Accadian origin. Consequently it is a value unknown to the Susian inscriptions and must have been introduced into the syllabary of Khapirti through Assyro-Babylonian influence. It is further very striking that among the numerous values of this character the one selected in both the Mal-Amir and the Amardian syllabaries is the same. It seems highly probable that the character was allowed to be polyphonous, since by the side of *be-ti-ip* „rebels” we have -*ip-tas*, -*ip-tis*, etc. Moreover  (bat-mas) at Naksh-i-Rustem (VI. 38.) appears to be the same as *be-ut* „battles” at Behistun (III. 48, 60.), while the proper name Pitigrabanâ is written *Bat-ti-ik-rab-ba-na*. Hence I have admitted *bat* as a second value of  (n°. 79). The polyphony in this particular case was not likely to cause confusion, since *be* and *bat* only differ in the final letter. Perhaps the fact that *be* was a purely Assyrian value of the character had something to do with its also retaining the old sound of *bat*.

*Ip* (n°. 25.) is the Babylonian and Susian ; but the form is peculiar.

The form of *da* (nº. 26.) is also peculiar. Susian and later Babylonian have .


*Di* (nº. 27.) has the same form in Babylonian. In Susian its place is taken by *te*, which may have influenced the form of the Mal-Amir and Amardian *di*. See nº. 73.


I can find no parallel to the Mal-Amir form of *du* (nº. 28.) It explains, however, the Amardian form of the ideograph for „man” (nº. 3) as well as the Persian  *d(u)*. The Amardian  must, consequently, be a return to the common Assyro-Babylonian form of the character.

*Ti* (nº. 29.) is derived from the Babylonian and Susian  by dropping one wedge and arranging two of the others in the way for which the framers of the Mal-Amir syllabary had a special predilection.

*Tu* (nº. 30.) is peculiar. It is derived from the Assyro-Babylonian form by dropping the three intermediate wedges, and evidently owes its origin to a cursive script.

I doubt *li* (nº. 34.) In Beh. III. 31 it should probably be corrected into *ul*, though Norris marks the squeeze as clear. At Mal-Amir the character is almost certainly the result of miscopying and cannot be right.

*Lu* (nº. 35) is one of the characters which are peculiar to the Mal-Amir and Amardian syllabaries. It is evidently formed from the Assyro-Babylonian *lav*, which, like *tu* by the side of *tav*, may also have had the sound of *lu*. I find it once or twice in Babylonian written .


The value of *al* (nº. 36) is proved by the word *zalmu-mas* (see Vocabulary). It is curious that this is a foreign word borrowed from Assyrian, and that except in this word the character is not found at Mal-Amir while it is not found at all in the Amardian texts. In Susian we have .

In *ma* (nº. 38) the same desire of symmetry which has



produced the Amardian form of the ideograph n<sup>o</sup>. 3. has caused the three horizontal wedges of the Mal-Amir character to be increased to four.

*Mu* (n<sup>o</sup>. 40.) has the Babylonian form.




*Am* (n<sup>o</sup>. 41.) is the Susian . Oppert's proposed reading *git*, or rather *gut*, for it must be rejected, 1.) because it never has this phonetic value in Assyro-Babylonian, and 2.) because at Mal-Amir it is shown to be *am* (as in Assyrian) by the proper names Am-ma-zi-ras (I. 21.) and Za-am-ban (I. 25.). Oppert's reading depends upon the erroneous value he assigns to n<sup>o</sup>. 94. See below under n<sup>o</sup>. 49.




*Na* (n<sup>o</sup>. 43.) has a similar form in Babylonian.

*An* (n<sup>o</sup>. 46.) has the Assyrian and later Babylonian form. In cursive Susian it is  and .

Cursive Susian gives  for *in* (n<sup>o</sup>. 47.)

The Amardian form of *un* (n<sup>o</sup>. 48.) is not found in Assyrian or in Susian whether monumental or cursive. But it is later Babylonian.

The value of *en* (n<sup>o</sup>. 49.) can be proved in this way. Dr. Oppert has recognised that in Susian  is *en* as in *te-en-gi-k* („I restored”), *am-me-en*, *te-en-li*, and corresponds to the cursive Babylon  or . This is evidently the Mal-Amir

 and Amardian  which are proved to end with a nasal by their occurrence in the substantive verb. Thus the first person „I was” is written *en-ni-gi-ud* and the analogy of *in-pa-ru-gi-ud* „I arrived”, where *u* is the final vowel of the stem, obliges us to consider *i* also as the final vowel of the stem of the substantive verb, *n* being the last radical of the root. Since *en-ri* is „he was” and *en-beb* „they were”, it is evident that the character  contains this last radical. Oppert's *gin*, like Norris's *sen*, has no palæographical authority. At Naksh-i-Rustem (VI. 29.), it is true, Oppert

finds *gi-ni*, but Westergaard's copy has *gi-pir* which is certainly wrong. Norris suggests that *khu-ud* is the right reading. Oppert's *git* „I was” in Beh. III. 73 is really *am* (n<sup>o</sup>. 41.), as is shown by its being written *kha-um* in III. 79., where the French Professor himself admits (p. 237) that Norris may be right in regarding the word as a transcription of the Persian *aham*. As a matter of fact, however, *am* or *khaum* is the first person sing. of the past sense of the substantive verb. It probably has the same origin as the adverb *khami* „there”. See above under n<sup>o</sup>. 41.

The form of *ra* (n<sup>o</sup>. 50) is very peculiar; the upper horizontal wedge on the right hand side of the character has been moved to the front (on the left).

*Ri* (n<sup>o</sup>. 51.) is also peculiar, the wedge-head being on the left and not on the right side of the last upright wedge in the other systems of cuneiform writing.

*Ru* (n<sup>o</sup>. 52.) is equally characteristic, but the Mal-Amir form shows how the Amardian can be connected with the Assyro-Babylonian. The usual Babylonian form of the character has only two upright wedges like cursive Susian, instead of three like Amardian and Assyrian. The influence of Assyrian is as plainly recognisable in this character as that of Babylonian is in others.

*Ar* (n<sup>o</sup>. 53.) has been discarded by the Amardian syllabary, like *al*.

The discovery of the exact value of *zi* (n<sup>o</sup>. 56.) is due to Oppert. The form of the character is very peculiar.

*Ša* (n<sup>o</sup>. 58.) has the later Babylonian form.



The Mal-Amir form of *ši* (n<sup>o</sup>. 59) shows how the Amardian form has developed out of the Babylonian.

The bracketed form of n<sup>o</sup>. 60 is probably due to an error of the copyist.

*Khar* (n<sup>o</sup>. 72.) has an Assyrian form rather than the later Babylonian.

The value of n°. 70 is settled by the Mal-Amir form. At Behistun (II. 11, III. 3, 5) the word for „house” or „clan” is written ► *Hu-el-man-nu*, which Oppert compares with the Susian *umman*, for which he conjectures the same signification. The combination *hu-um*, however, at the beginning of a word, is otherwise unknown in Amardian. On the other hand, *khumanuis* is rendered by the Persian *didâ* „fortress” and *avahanam* „residence” (Beh. I. 43, II. 25), while, as we shall see, *khuma* both in Susian and at Mal-Amir signifies „to inhabit”. It might therefore have been conjectured that the value of the character before us is *khum*. But palaeographically it is impossible to connect it with any Assyro-Babylonian form of that character, whereas its exact representative would be the Babylonian *el*, which has the same form in Susian. *Uel-mannu* „clan” may have the same root as *ulkhi* „family”. We may compare the Kassite *ulam* „offspring”.

Since n°. 73 expresses the first syllable of Gomates and Gobryas, it is probable that we should read *gu* instead of *kam*, like *lu* instead of *lam* (n°. 35).

In *kar* (n°. 74) the Assyro-Babylonian  is represented by , thus confirming what has been said under n°. 27.

The Mal-Amir form of *kur* (n°. 75) forms the bridge between the Assyro-Babylonian and Amardian forms.

We must not overlook the fact that n°. 76 has both at Mal-Amir and in Amardian the value of *kas* only, not the ordinary Assyrian value of *bi*. In Kassite names again it seems to be pronounced *kas*.






N°. 79. has the value of *bar* (or *par*) only since its other usual value in Assyrian, *mas*, has been assigned in Mal-Amir and Amardian to n°. 97.

The real value of the Amardian character (n°. 84.) is furnished by the help of the Mal-Amir texts. Norris read it *no*, and Oppert *mak*. It is found at Behistun in the word *dingi* „to



restore", which is written *te-en-gi* in Susian (*Len.* 32. 22., etc.)

*Tum* (n°. 90.) resembles the Assyrian form of the character more closely than the Babylonian one. Its value is certified by Mal-Amir form where we find *buk-tum* by the side of *buk-ti*.


The Amardian form of *maz* (n°. 96) is not quite certain, since it occurs only once, in the name of the Machiyā or Maxyes at Nakhsh-i-Rustem (VI. 25).

It is remarkable that the Assyrian character  should have been differentiated in form,  being appropriated to denote its one value of *bar*, while  was used to express its other value of *mas* (n°. 97.) The proceeding was probably influenced by the fact that in Susian the plural suffix was *me* , the form of which exactly resembled that of the Mal-Amir and Amardian plural suffix *mas*. It is possible that the plural suffix (n°. 98) was not pronounced *mes* as in Assyro-Babylonian but *mas*, though we find *me* (as in Susian) representing the plural in Accadian by the side of the more usual *mes*. The ideograph  is not employed in Susian, probably on account of the confusion which would have arisen between its phonetic value of *mes* and the plural suffix *me*. The reader would have been apt to read it *mes* instead of *me*. In Amardian, there was no danger of confusion since the plural suffix was actually *mas* which was sufficiently like *mes* in sound. Dr. Oppert strangely supposes that the use of n°. 98 denotes that the character or characters preceding it are used ideographically, in spite of the contrary evidence of the inscriptions. He does not explain why the ideograph for „son” is not followed by it. It is used phonetically in writing the name of Artaxerxes at Susa (18.) where we have *Ar-tak-sa-ves-sa*.

The value of the Mal-Amir form of n°. 101 is fixed by the word *pa-rikkh* „I went” (I. 13, etc.). In Susian this character has the value of *nakh* which must have had the same meaning


as the Accadian *likh* and *rikkh*, the Assyrian phonetic values of the character. It is not the only case in which a character has different phonetic values in Susian and Assyrian, arising from the fact that writing must have been practised independently among the Susians and Accadians before the original hieroglyphs had degenerated into cuneiform characters. Thus  „to go”, *du(n)* in Accadian, has the value of *sa* in Susian, where *sa* (*ša* in Amardian) signified „to go” (see W. A. I. II. 47. 18). It is just possible, however, that the Amardian character may represent *ikh*  in later Babylonian, rather than the Mal-Amir *rikkh*. At all events we find *lu-X-gi-ud-da* „I retired” (Beh. II. 49.) by the side of *lu-ibba* (Beh. I. 79., III. 32.) if the reading is right in the two latter passages; the sense shows that in Beh. I. 80 Oppert's *lugitta* must be corrected into *ša-gi-ud-da*, as he himself remarks (p. 124). In Beh. I. 6. we have the adjective *sa-(rikkh)* „established,” which may be connected with the verb *sara* „I placed” and the derivative *sarak* „position” and hence „times” (Lat. *vices*). In Beh. III. 82. we find *khal-(rikkh)-ma* „in sin (?),” where we should expect *likh* or *lu* rather than *rikkh*. In fact, the value which would best suit the character in the words in which it occurs is *lu*, which unfortunately is not palæographically very possible.

*Rab* (n°. 103) is an Assyrian value of the character, derived from *rabu* „great,” the equivalent of the Accadian *gal*. It is another proof that the Amardian syllabary was derived not from Susians or Accadians but from the Semitic Assyro-Babylonians. The character, moreover, has the Babylonian and not the Assyrian form.


As *kas* is the value of another character, *kas* the usual value of  has had to make way for the less common *ras* (n°. 104).


*Rik* (n°. 105) occurs only in Beh. II. 58. where we read: — „There in the citadel of Ekbatana, *mar-rik-mes sa-ra khup(?)*—



*pa-ka ap-pi-in ši-ra* as prisoners I placed, within (it) them I shut up." As Dr. Oppert has given a wholly wrong interpretation of this passage, it is necessary to go into it in detail. The Persian text has „the men who were his chief adherents I imprisoned in the fortress of Ekbatana," and it is evident that the same idea must be expressed in the Amardian transcript. This is made certain by the ideograph of plurality which follows *mar-rik*, and shows that the latter word must signify „prisoners." *Marri* is a common verb in Amardian, meaning „to take," and since the passive of it is *mar-rik*, the word required here is *mar-rik*; that is, the second character of which it is composed must have the value of *rik*. A comparison with the Assyrian  *rik* completes the proof. *Sara* is evidently connected with the adverb *sara-k*, literally „position" and hence „times" (Latin „vices").

*Zik* (n°. 106) occurs only three times, in the same word *zikkida* „I restored" (Beh. I. 46, 49, 52).

That  (n°. 107) is *šin* and not *sin* is shown by *Par-šin* „Persia" by the side of *Par-šir* „a Persian."

The Mal-Amir form of n° 94, which is used as the determinative of a woman, shows that the corresponding Amardian character is simply the Assyrian . The Assyrian character has two common values *sal* and *rak*, but since the Amardian had another sign for *rak* (n°. 102) *rak* is inadmissible. On the other hand, it occurs in two words which if read *lul-sal* and *am-sal-nu* would allow of no satisfactory grammatical interpretation. The first word signifies „a record" and ought to end in the participial *k*, while in the second word, which signifies „former" and is misread *amneni* by Norris and *gittinni* by Oppert, we should expect a syllable beginning with *m*. Now a rare value of the character before us in the Assyrian syllabary is *mak*. This is clearly the one which it bears in the Amardian syllabary. *Lulmak* is the passive participle of *lulma* „to record" (for which see the

Vocabulary), and *ammaknu* „former” is formed like *anu* „not” by the suffix-*nu* (as in *khuma-nu-is* „a fortress”) from the passive of *amma* „to go before.” *Amma*, under the contracted form of *am*, appears in *Beh.* III. 73. where it represents the Persian *adâ nuram*, rendered by Oppert „nunc illico.”

I am quite at a loss to conjecture what was the sound of n°. 111, or with what Assyrian character it is to be compared unless with that which has the powers of *tun* and *khub*. It only occurs twice (*Beh.* II. 58, K. III. 23), in a word which Oppert, no doubt rightly, renders „within” (? *khup-paka*) (see above under n°. 105). The termination is that of the postpositions *idaka* „with,” *zubaka* „against.”

Among the ideographs that for „king” (Id. 3) should be noticed, as it is very rare in the Assyro-Babylonian texts, where three other ideographs are usually employed to denote the idea. I cannot explain the form found in the inscription of Artaxerxes.

The ideograph for „religious hymn” (Id. 6), is a well-known one in Assyrian. It properly signifies the magical formulæ or religious hymns which were recited to ward off evil. It is found only once in the Amardian texts (*Beh.* I. 48), where its Persian equivalent *gaithâ* must consequently represent the Gatha of the Avesta, as Benfey supposed, in spite of the phonetic difficulties of the form <sup>1)</sup>. Dareios declares that he had restored the temples which the pseudo-Bardes had destroyed and had given back *dassutum-na rikh-das a'ak AS a'ak kurdas* „the. . . . of the people and the religious hymns and the. . . .” See note on *kurdinni* II. 9. *infra*.



The ideograph for „addition” (Id. 7) is only once found, in the final clause of the Behistun inscription (L 5) which was first explained by Oppert, who has, however, strangely enough misunderstood the meaning of the character. The

1) *Gaitha* will be a borrowed word in Old Persian.

sentence runs: *kudda* ► *khatuat ukku kudda* ► 'SU-mes *ukku kudda* ► *khis kudda e-ippi khudda kudda riluik* „and the supplement of the law and the additions to the law and the name and the..... I made and it was written." The meaning of *ukku* „law" is given in Beh. III. 80. See note on I. 9. *infra*.

Oppert has misread the ideograph for „fire" (n°. 10) as *mar* and accordingly rendered it „time;" but his sagacity had perceived that the sentence in which it occurred signified „burnt with fire."

How ► came to be employed as a determinative of „place" is not very easy to explain. Perhaps it was due to the fact that in Babylonia the name of a place, denoted by the determinative affix *-ki*, was frequently preceded by the preposition ► *ina* „in." The Susian and Amardian may have dropped the affix and used the local preposition as a substitute. Perhaps, again, as already suggested, *as* was the word for „land" in Susian and Amardian.

Why „the waters" (n°. 5) should have been employed as a determinative of a river, instead of the Babylonian  , must be accounted for by a philological peculiarity of the Amardian language.

Two facts result from this examination of the Amardian syllabary. First of all that the Amardian characters are modifications of those of Mal Amir, and secondly that the syllabary has been borrowed from a cursive Babylonian script of the age of Nebuchadnezzar, though the determinatives have been derived from Susian. I had expected to find that the cursive form of Susian found on unpublished bricks now in the British Museum was the original of it, but this turns out not to have been the case. The second fact admits of only two explanations; either the Babylonians or the Amardians must have occupied Susiana when the Amardian syllabary was formed. History shows us, as we shall see, that

the latter of these two explanations is the correct one; the king who caused the Mal Amir inscriptions to be engraved was also the conqueror of Susiana, and the task of compiling a system of writing for the conqueror must have been consigned to some Susian who appended the determinatives once in use in his own country to the characters he selected from a current Babylonian script. The overthrow of the kingdom of Elam by Assur-bani-pal had doubtless brought with it the disuse of the old native mode of writing and had introduced the Babylonian characters of the day.

I. THE INSCRIPTION ACROSS A BAS-RELIEF AT KUL  
FARAUN, MAL AMIR. (Layard's Inscr. pl. 36, 37.)

1. 

*E D. P. Di - ip - ti hu - ri ut - ti - ru*

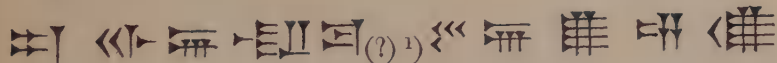
The temple of the god Dipti the announcer of ora-



*ti - ir Ti - ru - tur khu ul - khi*  
cles (and) the god Tirutur this family



*di - ik - ra si - ul - kha a - ak D. P. na -*  
protecting I adorned, and of the



*ap - pi - ir - ra ba? khi - ir su - un - ki -*  
gods whatsoever it ru-

<sup>1)</sup> In a corresponding passage in line 20 the copy has *as*.

𐤁𐤏𐤃 𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤓

ip - ri D. P. Di - ip - ti  
ling (and of) Dipti

2. 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏

ki - di - ik di - um - be - ik - ra si -  
the carving-work superintending (?) beau-

𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏

is - ni - ir en - ri se - in - ri en ri - lu -  
tiful it is. He came lest I should

𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏

in ki - di - ik - ni - na nappi uk - ku -  
write »of thy carving-work» (but) »of the gods great»

𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏

ub (?) - na ki - di - ik - ki - me; ba - at -  
the carvings, of my

𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏

mi - na ki - di - ik ki - di -  
district the carving; the carv-










3. 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏










ik din (?) - kha - pa ki - di - ik si -  
ing they were.....; the carving of

𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤏

tuk - in - ni a - h khi - ir pi - ka ba -  
monument this it helping (and) of












  
*at - in - ni a - h su - uk - ka - ma -*  
 district this I restore;










  
*na su - uk - ki tu - se - in - ni lu -*  
 the restoration of the figures (?) I














































  
*ul - ma - ma - na si - ul - kha - h -*  
 record (or command) to ad-

4. 








  
*ba a - ak ba - ab - kha - ab - ba D. P.*  
 orn, and to complete (?) of





<sup>1)</sup>






  
*na - pir khu - pa - ak - ir a - ak D. P.*  
 the gods the chiefs and of the











  
*S: - ul (?) - man - be - ri - ir na - pir - ra*  
 god Siulmanberi (?) (among) the gods








<sup>2)</sup>




  
*zu - h - is D. P. Khu - \* Ri - sa - ir*  
 the sanctuary, (even of) the god Khu... the Risayan


<sup>1)</sup> Should be corrected *khu*.


<sup>2)</sup> The copy has *tak* here, but elsewhere (lines 6, 21) the character I have restored in the text.


  
*D. P. na - ap - pir - ra ki - din ir*  
 (and) of the gods the sculpture it


5.   
*en - ra - ir - ra ki - din D. P. - kha - na*  
 creating, the sculpture of the mountain,


  
*hu D. P. Kha - an - ni sak Takh - khi - khi -*  
 I of Khanni the son Takh - khi - khi

  
*ku - tur D. P. A - a - pir - ir - ra a - a - in*  
 kutur the Amardian the king.


  
*hu D. P. na - ri - sa - h - mes - ra nappi*  
 I of the of the Narisians god


6.   
*ah bu - uk - tum D. P. Di - ip - ti D. P.*  
 this the shrine (?) (and) of Dipti (and)


  
*Ti - ru - tur - na a - ak D. P. na - pir*  
 Tirutur and of the gods

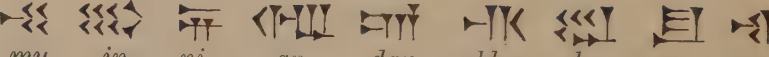
  
*lhu - pa - ak - ir - ra - na D. P. Man - na*  
 the chiefs (viz.) the god Man




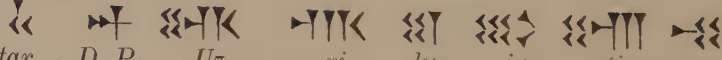
  
*hu - mi D. P. na - pir khu - pa - ak - ir*  
 there of the gods the chiefs,

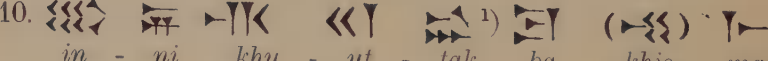
  
*D. P. Di - ip -*  
 (and) Dip -

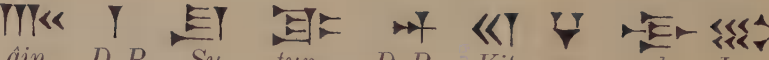
9.   
*ti khu - ud - dan - ba khis - mes sir -*  
*ti I caused to make the names; the*

  
*mu - in - ni ar - dan khu - h - su - na*  
 enclosure I caused to establish; of the names (?)

  
*id. tar - tuk sir - mu - in - ni XXI ir -*  
 additionally in all of the enclosure 21 al-

  
*tar D. P. Uz . . . . ri - lu - in sir - mu -*  
 together the god Uz . . . . I write; the enclo-

10.   
*in - ni khu - ut - tak - ba khis - mas*  
 sure was made by me; the names

  
*din D. P. Su - tur - D. P. Kit sa - ak In -*  
 of the king, of Sutur-kit the son,

<sup>1)</sup> The copy has *ban*.

𐤁𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

da - ak<sup>1)</sup> - ri - na khu - mu - ud - dir - ka

Indakri

;

𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

khu - h - su - na \* - mes

of the names (?) the whole

11. 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

śir - mu - in - ni a - h - be tar -

(and) of the enclosures

these

in

𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

tuk . . . . . tar - tuk hu - mi ki - ni - ma

all [numeral lost] in all

there

in the rock (?)

𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

kha - ku - zu - h D. P. D. P. Khi - di hu -

I consecrate (?)

the land

of Khi-di

they

𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

ma - be - ib

occupy

12. 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

di - na bu - uk - ti D. P. Di - ip - ti

the ordinance (and) sanctuary

of Dipti

𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

śu - ul - ra - ir - ra - na a - ak An -

the supreme

and

<sup>1)</sup> After this character we ought, according to the copy, to insert *ain su*.



𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 za - na hu da - ri - ra - na hu  
 Anzan to me giving I

13. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵<sup>1)</sup> 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵<sup>(?)</sup>  
 ki - ni - na D. P. mi - du zig - ga?  
 of the rock (?) the path I restored (?);

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ku - du - be D. P. mi - in pir - ba - kha  
 the..... of the..... I took (?) (and)

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 pa - rikh e sa - tar - tuk sa -  
 I went; the temple former I


14. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 ri - h pa - kas - ki khu - h e takh -  
 destroyed; instead of this a temple,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵<sup>2)</sup> 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 a - kha D. P. A - a - pri ši - ya - an  
 another Apirian (and) a palace


𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵  
 napi - na ir khu - na - za - na tu - ras  
 of the god it occupying (?) (and) subsequently


<sup>1)</sup> A lacuna is marked here in the copy, but probably erroneously.


<sup>2)</sup> The copy inserts 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 which has no existence in the Amardian syllabary, and seems merely an erroneous repetition of *kha*.


  
 } <sup>lu</sup> XXI XX D. P.


(? XXI in all) of the


15.   
*in - ra - na pi IV. × I. M. - h ku -*  
*towns which 4 times 1000 I*

  
*si - h a - ak pa - kas - ki khu - h - mas*  
*built, and instead of these*

  
*pi - tak - ka <sub>1</sub> (?) din (?) - ku - h*  
 ..... I restored (?).


16.   
*Za - al - mu - hu - mas khu - ut - takh*  
*Images I made,*


  
*a - ak ti - ib - be sa - al - khu - ba - h*  
*and I sent, I collected*


  
*D. P. D. P. Khi - di II. D. P. D. P. Sa - h -*  
*(for) the land of Khidi 2; the land of Sah-*


<sup>1</sup>) The copy has *ban*.



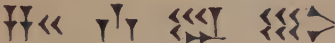
  
*na - ap - pi D. P. A - a - pir - ip - na hu*  
 the gods of the Apirians me


  
*takh - kha - na ban -*  
 aiding, { were  
                   { were


19.   
*tak a - h - in - be gan - ya - ma D. P.*  
 ordered (?) } ; the kings in . . . . . (and)  
 prospered (?)




  
*Sa - h - si - ik - si ma - ri - kha pa - rikh*  
 the land of Sahsiksi I took; a road

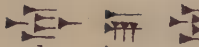



  
*D. P. A - a - pir - na - ap - ma ku - si -*  
 among the Apirians I


  
*kha a - h - in -*  
 built; the




20.   
*ap in sa - al - khu - ba - h ki - din*  
 kings not (?) I assembled; the sculpture






  
*D. P. Di - ip - ti ki - di - ik di - um -*  
 of Dipti the sculpturing super-





  
 be - ik - ra - na      D. P. na - pir      khu - pa -  
 intending (?)      (and) of the gods      the







  
 ak - ir - ra      as (?)<sup>1</sup>      khi - ir      na - ap - pir -  
 chiefs      whatsoever      it      concecra-

  
 ra - na  
 ting,

21.               
 of the god Man      the place      consecra-










  
 ra - na      D. P. Khu - \*      ain      ki - din      ir  
 ting,      of the god Khu \*      the king      the sculpture      it











  
 en - ra - ir - ra - na      za - al - mu - hu -  
 creating,      the images












  
 mas      mu - uk - ku - na      ban - ni - za - ip -  
 of the sacrifice (?)      had been finish-










<sup>1</sup>) See note <sup>1</sup>) on line 4.






















  
*ti mu - ku - mas mi -*  
 ed (?); the sacrifices ve-










22. 








  
*ul - ka sa - khi - is e - a tu - se -*  
 ry much the enceinte (?) of the temple will





... (?) 




  
*din - ra tu - h du - khi e a - ras*  
 contain (?) ..... being (?) the temple if









... 
  
*khu - ud - dan - ra en ku - un mu -*  
 one will make let not .....



(?) ... 



(?) -  
*h (?) ka D. P. Dil - bat (?) -*  
 ..... of Dilbat


23. 

<sup>2)</sup>







  
*na tak - ma khu - ma - ak - ni di - na*  
 in life may it be inhabited; the law.











  
*ku - ku - uk - na khu - su du (?) - en ...*  
 of favour, the name (of) gift (?) ...


<sup>1)</sup> The copy has *iz - za*.


<sup>2)</sup> The copy has *ban*.

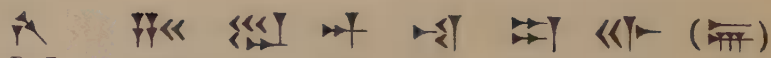
  
*mi ar - tak - ni ki - mes ru - uk - ku*  
 mine (?) may it be established; (on) posterity transgressing


  
*D. P. rap - pi - tum uk - ku D. P. ... ni*  
                     a curse                      great                      publicly

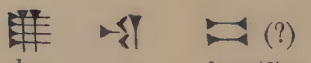
  
*sa - ra -*  
 I will

24.   
*ra sa - al - zi un - dan - na - am -*  
 set, unless (?) they will cause to hon-

  
*ip e - a ar (?) ... i ni - ik ki - din*  
 our (?) the temple approaching (?) the sculpture

  
*D. P. - kha - h D. P. na - ap - pi - ir -*  
 of this mountain of the gods

  
*ra - na za - al - mu - mas mu - uk -*  
                     (and) the images of the

  
*ku - na kas (?)*  
 sacrifice here (?).

Ia. ON THE DRESS OF THE LARGE FIGURE  
IN THE SAME RELIEF:

1. (𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
D. P. Hu D. P. Kha - an -  
I (am) of Khan-

2. (𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
ni sak Takh - khi -  
ni the son Takhkhi-

3. (𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
khi - ku - tur D. P. A -  
khi-kutur the A-

4. (𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
a - pir - ir - ra  
pirian;

5. (𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
za - al - mu - hu  
the imag-

6. (𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
mas D. P. Ti - ru -  
es of Tiru-

7. (𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
tur khu ul -  
tur, this fam-

8. ({{{{}}}) {{}} {{}} {{}} {{}}  
*khi di - ik - ra -*  
 ily protecting,

9. ({{}} {{}}) {{}} {{}} {{}} {{}}  
*na ti - ib - ba ki -*  
 I { made } ; the  
     sent }

10. ({{}} {{}}) {{}} {{}} — ({{}}) {{}}  
*di - ik D. P. D. P. - kha -*  
 sculpture of the mount-

11. ({{}} {{}}) {{}} {{}} {{}} ({{}} {{}})  
*na sa - al - khu - [ba - ah]*  
 ain I ordered. etc.


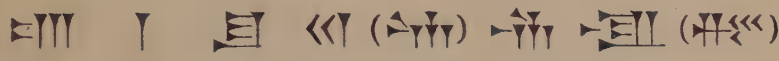
1b. ACROSS FIGURES OFFERING UP A SACRIFICE :

1. {{}} {{}} {{}} {{}}  
*D. P. Di - du - khu -*  
 Didu-khu-







2. {{}} {{}} {{}} {{}} {{}} {{}}  
*un - ti ku - is sa - ra (?) -*  
 unti while I

3. {{}}  
*h*  
 I set (the sacrifice).

## Ic. ON A SMALL FIGURE:

1.   
*ik - ki - ir D. P. Kha - an - ni sak*  
 Officer (?) of Khanni's son
2.   
*hu D. P. Su - ut - ru - ru - ra - gi*  
 I (am) Sutruru-ragi.

## Id. AN ANOTHER FIGURE:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. . . . . <br/> <i>za - ak</i><br/> . . . . .</p> <p>2. <br/> <i>hu D. P. 'Su -</i><br/> <i>I 'Su -</i></p> <p>3. . . . . <br/> <i>su - mu</i><br/> . . . . . <i>sumu</i></p> | <p>4. . . . . <br/> <i>kha - ku - zu - h</i><br/> I consecrated (?):</p> <p>5. <br/> <i>D. P. D. P. Khi - di</i><br/> the land of Khidi</p> <p>6. <br/> <i>khu (?) - ul - lu - ra</i><br/> I governed (?).</p> |
|---|---|

<sup>1</sup>) A comparison with the published copy of Sir A. H. Layard will show the extent to which I have been able to restore the text of the inscription.



II. INSCRIPTION IN THE CAVE OF THE SHIKAFTI  
SALMĀN (MAL-AMIR), (LAYARD Pl. 31, 32<sup>1</sup>):

- [illegible]

1) A comparison with the published copy of Sir A. H. Layard will show the extent to which I have been able to restore the text of the inscription.

6. ki-di-nu-h in-ni be-ra      ➤✚ Man ka-sa-ki tak  
 I carved. Not I made the god Man at once while  
 ki-di-nu-h ir khar-da-ak-ki-mas gan-mas za-  
 I carved. His establishments (and) resting-place (?)  
 [concealed(?)]
7. ak pir(?)-khu-h in-ru-ud su-ud kha-(ni)-ik hu-ri-na  
 I finished(?): the cliff lofty desirable of the an-  
 ✚ bu-khu-mi-na      ➤✚ Bar-ti-za-na ...  
 nouncer of my priest (and) of the god Bartiza ...
8. .... ➤✚ Ri-sa-ra-ik-ki kha-h bu-khu  
 .... to the land of the Risayans I attached: the priest  
 e ➤✚ Bar-ti-na pir-hu-ri 'su-ul-ra-ir-  
 of the temple of the god Barti all controlling  
 (ra-na) za-  
 I
9. bu-tu-h ni-tum ru-uk-hu-mas khu-ud-  
 appointed(?): forgiveness(?) of transgressions may it  
 da-ak<sup>1)</sup>-ni nu-ku-na kur-din-ni ba-ti-in-(ni) khu-  
 be done of us. The religion(?) of the district may  
 da-(ak-ni)  
 it be done
10. nu-ku-na kur-din-ti bat-ti-in-ni. .... bu-uk-ti-ni hu  
 of us; thou.... (?) thy district. .... thy shrine me  
 takh-kha-ak-ni tuk-ri-in(?)...  
 may he aid; .....
11. -na ki-ni khu(?)-ud-(da?) ➤✚ Bar-ti am-ma-ba-kha  
 of, the rock(?) I made(?); the god Barti I besought(?),  
 ➤✚ na-ap-pir-ra-na (kha)-ku-un-zu-hu(?)-  
 and of the gods may he be consecra-

---

1) The copy has *at*.

12. ak-ni | Su-ut-ru-ru-ra-gi    ➡ | <<    hu... ri(?) gi-  
       -ted even Suturu-ragi, the Sun-god        ....., the  
       lu-ir-ra    za-al-mu-mas  
       carpenter; the images
13. khu-dan | Da-be-kur-be        e        ➡ | Bar-ti-(na)  
       I made.    Dabekurbe (to) the temple        of Barti
- kha-ud-du..... ➡ | Bar-ti-na    uk-ku-mi-na    takh  
       ..... of the god Barti    my great (god) I sent,  
       a-  
       and
14. ak    za-al-mi        e        khu-h        da... kha-du(?) -ras-ma  
       an image    temple — this —        subterranean(?) — in  
       ši-ik-ka        takh    a-(ak)...  
       providently I sent and...
15. ru-ma    su.. khu(?)... ru-el-pa(?)    tum(?)    kha(?) -du-  
       in. .... ? in  
       (ras(?) -ma(?). . .)    ud-ma    ➡ | Bar-ti        ➡ | Ri-  
       .... (when)        in... the god Barti (to) the land of
16. sa        si-ni-ik-ra        khar-din-ra    ... khi. .... ra(?) -na  
       Risa shall come he will establish        of .....  
       | Mu-hu-ut-tuk(?). ....  
       Muhuttuk. ....
17. (?mi)-ul-lu    khu-h-be    khu-ut-tak. .... ut-ras    ul-lu  
       very (?)        these there was made. ....  
       khu-ut-tak. ....  
       was made. ....
18. kur-ma-na ➡ | na-pir        khar-tak    gi(?). .... (Ti-)pi-ra  
       of. .... of the gods established ...        of Tipira  
       šu-ul-ya-na    za-al- (mu-mas . . .)  
       the chief        the images ...

19. khu-ni 𐎲 Ras-bar-ti(?)<sup>1)</sup> 𐎶𐎶𐎶 na-pir 𐎶 sa-ra-ma 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 . . . . Ras-barti of the gods in place during  
 . . . . . ni a-ak ri-ip(?). . .  
 the month of . . and the. . . .
20. ban-ma 𐎲 Ku-tur 𐎶 A-a-pir-ir-ra du-is-ni 𐎲 Ras-bar-  
 in. . . . Kutur the Apirian may he make. Ras barti  
 ti za-al-(mu-)mas a-khi. . . . .  
 the images . . . . .
21. ba-ak-ni 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 Am-ma-zi-ras  
 may he be. . . the roads the woman Ammaziras  
 𐎶 A-pir-(ir)-ra du-is-ni ti. . .  
 the Apirian may she make . . .
22. dan-ras-is du-is-ni 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎲 Ra-gi-  
 the presents(?) may she make 80 fortresses Ragi-  
 pal-ik-lu du-is-ni 𐎲 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶. . . . . 𐎶𐎶𐎶. . . (𐎲)  
 paliklu may he make so many objects
23. Ti-pi-ra ak-ka za-al-mu-mas ra\*-ra du-is-ni  
 Tipira who the images carved(?) may he make.  
 ši-iz-mes sa lu kha,"ru(?) khal-  
 The. . . . . towns
24. mes a-h 𐎶 is-kha-pi-mes 𐎲 Si-in-sa-din-be 𐎶 takh-a-is-ni  
 these, the. . . . . Sinsadinbe may he aid.  
 𐎲 Ra-ba-as num-ban-is-ti  
 Rabas had imitated
25. mi-la-h-mes 𐎲 Za-am-ban. . . . ip takh-a-is-ni 𐎶𐎶𐎶  
 the. . . . ; , Zamban. . . . . may he aid. One  
 bar(?). . . ah-mes ri(?)-lu-ip. . . . .  
 thousand . . . . . written(?) . . . . .
26. ip khu-ma 𐎶 Ba-am-ban takh-a-is-ni . . ras ru . . ru  
 in this Bamban may he aid . . . . . :

1) 𐎲 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. So line 20.

LXXX(?) am(?)·ma(?)·mi(?)·mes pa(?) ku(?). . . . ➤<<|  
 80(?) 80(?) . . . . . the man

27. khu(?)·ud(?)·ma ➤<| Bar-ti·za·na ti·khu·ri·ik·ra  
 . . . . . of the god Bartiza, the . . . .

➤ A·a·pir ➤<| Ban(?)·a(?) ➤<| (Šu-ul)·se·h·ud  
 the Apirian, the god Bana(?), the god { Šul-sehud } (and)  
 we exalted {

šu-ul-se-

{ the supreme(?) }  
 { I exalt }

28. h khu-ut-tak-ni a-ak ak-ka is-pi-lu a-pi  
 may it be made, and who the chapel which (for)  
 e a-h da-kha takh-a-is-ni ban(?)·tak(?)  
 house this I made may he aid . . . . .

29. ban-tak ku-is | Ti-pi-ra šul-ul-ra-ir-ra za-al-mu-  
 it was prospered(?) until Tipira the chief the images  
 mas da ➤<| << du-is-da . . h . . . .  
 mine of the Sun-god had made. . . . .

30. kha dan-ras-is šu- $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ra} \\ \text{da} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ -as-ni ➤<| Bar-ti-na  
 . . . . the presents(?) may he offer(?). Of the god Barti  
 pir-hu-ri khu-ud-da-(ir-na is-pi-)lu-(mes) ➤<| khar-  
 all making the chapels the god may  
 (da-)  
 he

31. ak-ni. . . . . kha an-ti-ni dī-na gan-tum  
 inhabit . . . . . the law, cessation(?)  
 ru-uk-ni ak-ka za-al-mu-mas mi-pi-ka. . . .  
 from transgression(?) who the images injuriously(?)  
 ➤<| Ra(?)·khi(?)  
 the town. . . . .



32. hu mi-pi-(ka). . be-su sa-khi-is du-khi e  
 me injuriously(?) . . . the *enceinte*(?) being(?) the  
 a-ras pi-la-h-di-ma ➤| (na-pir)-ra ut-dan(?) hu  
 temple if(?) in. . . . . of the gods . . . . .  
 ap-pa(?) a-h . . za-khi(?)  
 . . . . . this . . . . .

33. i(?)-kha-ma-an. . . ➤| ➤| ➤| ➤| be-ra ➤|  
 . . . . . fire the land I made. The forts  
 pal-mas-na du-sa ban. . . ma ra(?) h(?) . . . ➤| ➤|(?)  
 of the. . . were in . . . . . fire(?)  
 da-kha-(h)  
 I made

34. su. . . . . ➤| Ki-ri-is-sa-na ➤| Di-ip-ti  
 . . . . . of the god Kirissa (and) the god Dipti  
 ➤| (uk-)ku-mes li(?) - is (?) - su (?) - na sa ut(?)  
 the gods great (and). . . . .

35. (➤| na-pir) sa-ra-(ma) (➤|) Bar(?) - ti - za(?) - na(?) ik ni  
 of the gods in position of the god Bartiza(?) . . . .  
 ku-is . . . . .  
 until . . . . .

36. Obliterated.

The two Mal Amir inscriptions will run consecutively as follows:

I. I have erected the temple of the god Dipti, the announcer of oracles, and of the god Tirutur the protector of this clan; and of all the gods whatever who rule it, (as well as) of Dipti who superintends the sculpturing; it is a magnificent (shrine). (The god) came lest I should write: „(it is) of thy sculpturing” (instead of) „the sculpturings of the great gods, the sculpturing of my district.” The sculpturing they (? approved). To restore the sculpturing of this monument, by assisting it, (and) of this district, to record the restoration of the figures(?), I erected (it), and I completed(?) the

sanctuary of the principal gods and of the god Suilmanberi(?) among the gods, (also) of the god Khu... the Risayan (and) of the gods who have created the place of the sculptures: I, Takhkhi-khi-kutur, the Amardian, the king, the son of Khanni (completed) the place of the sculptures of the mountain. I have made this shrine of the god of the Narisians (and) of Dipti (and) Tirutur and the principal gods, (and) the place of the sculptures of the mountain and these of the god Man and the god Khu. . . , images of the king, who has created the place of the sculptures and aided me. I made and collected the images of the god Tirutur who protects this clan. Then I caused the names of the principal gods, 40 in all, and of Dipti to be made there; I established the surrounding walls. I wrote additions to the names(?) completely, (on) the surrounding walls 21 altogether. . . The surrounding walls were made by me: the name of the king, even of Indakri, the son of Sutur-kit, (was inscribed upon it?). The whole of the names(?) and of their surrounding walls. . . in all I consecrated(?) there in the rock(?). The land of Khidi they occupy. I restored(?) the ordinance (and) sanctuary of Dipti, the supreme god who has given (the land of) Anzan unto me, (as well as) the path of the rock(?). I took(?) the. . . of the. . . , (and) I went: the former temple I destroyed. Instead of this, another Amardian temple (and) a palace of the god who occupies it, and subsequently a large number) of towns I built, and instead of these. . . . I restored(?). I made images, and I sent and collected two (for) the land of Khidi. The land of Sahsikí I seized, and a road among the Amardians I constructed. The kings I collected: the river Pirin they inhabited. The law, the favour(?) (and) the shrine of Dipti, the supreme, who has given (the land of) Anzan unto me, and of the gods of the Amardians who assist me, were favoured(?). The kings in peace(?) (and) the land of Sahsikí I took: a road among the

Amardians I constructed. The kings thereupon (?) I assembled. The place of sculptures of Dipti who superintended the sculpturing (and) of all the principal gods whatever who consecrated it, the images of the god Man who consecrated the place (and) of the god Khu. . . who created the place of sculptures, (and the images) of the sacrifice (?) had been finished (?). The enceinte (?) of the temple will contain (?) multitudes of sacrifices. . . . If (?) one will make the temple, let not. . . . May the. . . of Dilbat (?) be inhabited in life. May the law of favour, the name of my gift (?) be established. On posterity who transgress I will publicly set a great curse, unless (?) they will honour the temple, approaching (?) the place of sculptures of this mountain of the gods (and) the images of the sacrifice (?) here (?).

II. I, Takhkhi-khi-kutur, the Amardian, (the king), the son of Khanni, among the (?) Risayans) have appointed rulers; I have consecrated my priest. . . the man of the Amardian god. This, the image of Bambati I have carved (?) which (tho') concealed (?) I have finished. I have sculptured a suitable cliff of the announcer of my priest, in joy, in this land of Risa of Barti-za, the god of the Risayans. I made the images while I sculptured, (but) I did not make the god Man at the time when I sculptured. The establishment (and) resting-place (?) of him, in a concealed place (?), I finished. The lofty and suitable cliff of the announcer of my priest (and) of the god Barti-za. . . I attached to the land of the Risayans. I appointed (?) the priest of the temple of the god Barti supreme over all. May forgiveness (?) of (our) transgressions (?) be granted unto us. May the religious rites (?) of the district be performed by us, Thy district. . . thy shrine thou endowest with religious rites (?). May he assist me! I have made (?) the rock (?) of the. . . The god Barti I besought (?), and may Sutruru-ragi, the carpenter, the (favourite?) of the Sun-god be consecrated. The images I made. I

sent Dabekurbe (to) the temple of Barti. . . . (even) Barti my great god, and I made providently an image in this subterranean (?) temple; and. . . . . (when) in. . . . the god Barti shall come (to) the land of Risa he will establish. . . Muhuttuk. . . . . (all) these things were made. . . . the images (were carved by) Tipira the chief (sculptor). . . . . Ras-barti (established them) in the place of the gods during the month of. . . . ; and the. . . in. . . may Kutur the Amardian make. Let Ras-barti (work at) the images. Let the woman Ammaziras, the Amardian, make the roads. . . let her make presents (?). Let Ragi-pal-iklu make 80 fortresses. (So many objects) let Tipira, who (carved) the images make. Let Sinsadinbe assist the (requirements?) of these towns. Rabas had imitated the. . . . ; let Zamban. . . aid (him). Let Bamban assist what is written (?) on this (tablet?). (The image?) of the man. . . of the god Barti-za, the. . . . , the Amardian, (and) of the god Bana (?), the god (whom) we exalt (and) I exalt, may it be made, as well as of whoever may aid the chapel which I have built for this temple. . . it prospered until Tipira the chief had made for me the images of the Sun-god. . . . . The presents (?) may he offer (?). May the god inhabit the chapels of the god Barti who has made all things. . . . . the law, cessation (?) from transgression (?), whoever has. . . the images. . . . . fire the land I made. The fortresses of the. . . . were in prosperity (?). . . . fire I made. . . . . of the god Kirissa (and) the god Dipti, the great gods. . . . . in the place (of the gods). . . until. . . .

### *Commentary.*

I. 1. *E* means „house” or „temple” in Amardian <sup>1)</sup> as well as in Susian and Accadian. It is one of the words which

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<sup>1)</sup> Here, as elsewhere, I use the term Amardian to denote the language of the Akhæmenian texts as distinguished from that of Mal Amir.

are common to both the Accadian and the Elamite languages. In the Amardian transcripts we find *e-ma* „in the house” (N° 10. ► *ulkhimes e-ma* „in the chambers of the house,” Ass. *ina bit*.)

The name of Dipti seems connected with the Amardian *dup* or *duppi* „a tablet,” the suffix being the same as in *pik-ti* „help” by the side of *pik-da*, or *Khapir-ti* „Amardia” by the side of *Khapir-irra* „an Amardian,” and probably also as in the verbal forms *tiri-s-ti* „they had been named,” *emidu-s-ti* „he had taken away.” This view of the meaning of Dipti is supported by the name of the other god with whom he is joined, *Tiru-tur*, which is plainly derived from the verb *tir* or *tiri* „to say,” „name.” The second part of the name is most probably a reduplication of the same root, since *turri-ka* is found in the sense of „called” (*Nakhsh-i-Rustem* 15). For a similar instance of reduplication cp. the verb *kut-katu-irra* „to take away” from *kuti*, „to carry”. It may, however, be the postposition *turi* „from,” or possibly even the ideograph of *sak* „a son.” In any case there can be no doubt as to the general signification of the name *Tiru-tur*, and the inscription, therefore, is very appropriately dedicated to the two deities of „writing” and „speaking<sup>1</sup>.” *Dup* or *duppi*, like the Persian *dipi*, is borrowed from the Assyrian *duppu*, which is itself borrowed from the Accadian *dup* or *dip*.

*Huri* is the Amardian *uri* to declare” (erroneously rendered „to believe” by Oppert).

The word following, which is probably to be read *ut-ti-ru* (*ut*)-*ti-ir* is evidently connected with the root *tir*, like *Tiru-tur*. Like *napir* for *napirra* it stands in the genitive plural.

Norris perceived that *khu* must be the demonstrative „that”

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1) *Tur-ê-eti-ir* was the name, according to Sennacherib, of an Elamite god after whom the town of *Dintu sa D. P. Turêtir* „Column of Turêtir” was named (Smith's *Senn.* 108).

corresponding to *khi* „this,” although in the Akhæmenian transcripts it was only found in the derived forms *khube* and *khu-ibbé* „that” and *khu-pibe* „those.” The Mal Amir texts abundantly prove that he was right.

*Ukhi* in the Amardian texts means both „house” and „family,” and in the plural (N<sup>o</sup>. 10), denotes the several parts or „chambers” of a palace.

*Dik-ra*, according to the analogy of the Akhæmenian transcripts, must be a genitive, governing the words which immediately precede it, and agreeing with a noun in the genitive (but without any genitive suffix) which has gone before. In Amardian *-ra* takes the place of the usual *-na*, to express the genitive, in the word (*ain*)-*ip-irra* „of the kings.” In Accadian *-ra* is the postposition of the dative, *-na* only being the postposition of the genitive. Both in Amardian and Accadian *ra* also serves as a verbal suffix. By the side of *ra* there occurs the weakened form *-ri*, which represents our definite article, or rather the definite case, like *-bi* in Accadian. Thus *sak* (*saku*) is „son” or „a son,” *sak-ri* (or *sakú-ri*) „the son,” while *khupirri*, the nominative singular of the third personal pronoun, is a compound of the demonstrative *khu*, of *pi* which helps to form the plural of pronouns (as *khu-pi-be* „they,” *khu-pi-mas* „them”) as well as of verbs (as *tiri-man-pi* „they are called,” *turna-m-pi* „they know”) and is also found in *mar-pi-da* by the side of *marri-da* „all,” and of *ri* which throws the accent upon the preceding short vowel as is indicated by the reduplication of the *r*. In the same relation that *ra* stands to *ri*, *da* also stands to *di* (e. g. *khu-be-da* „whatsoever,” *da’ae-di* „any other,” *el-di* „an eye”), the passive *-ka* to *-ki*, and, as we shall see below, *-na* to *-ni*. Just as *-ri* expresses the definite case of the third person as in *adda-ri* „the father his,” *-da* expresses the definite case of the first person, as in *adda-da* „the father mine.” It is only by accident that *-ra* has come to represent the ge-



nitive. In Amardian the genitive may be expressed either by the defining noun being placed after the noun it defines, but with the suffix *-na* attached to it, or by its coming before the other noun without any suffix whatever. Occasionally, however, when the defining noun comes second the suffix is nevertheless omitted, and as this usually happens when it terminates in *-ra* the latter has acquired a genetival sense. Properly, however, *-ra* simply marks a class and may therefore be translated by the indefinite pronoun. If a short vowel precedes, the accent is thrown back upon it, and is indicated by the reduplication of the *r*, as in *Barsi-rra* „a Persian,” *Bablu-rra* „a Babylonian,” *ruhi-rra* „a man.” The final vowel of the suffix may be lost, as in the case of the Accadian *-ra*, and accordingly we find *ki-r* „one,” *Barsi-r kir* „a certain Persian.”

The meaning of the root *dik* is pretty well fixed by the context, tho' it may contain the idea of „loving” rather than of „protecting,” since in Amardian *tuk-minni-na* is „he was pleased,” *tuk-manna* „I was pleased” (III, 13, 18). At any rate the guttural probably forms part of the root, and is not the suffix of the passive as in *titukra* „a liar,” *kuktakra* „a protector.”

The meaning of *siulkha* is again fixed by the context. The first person singular of the preterite is represented in Susian by *-h* as in *kusih* „I built,” *tengih* „I restored;” in Amardian the aspirate is lost altogether as in *tiri* „I said,” tho' when the vowel *a* follows it is represented by *y* as in *tiriya*. It is the same change as that which we find in the Amardian *hu* „I” by the side of the older *khu* (XVIII, 4.) or in A'apir by the side of Khapir, and is an evidence that the dialect of Mal Amir is an older form of that of the Amardian texts. The suffixed vowel *-a* was supposed by Dr. Hincks to denote the conjunction „and;” it is really the older and fuller form of the first person singular which is used when

the sentence does not come to an end but passes on into another. It is thus equivalent to the connecting particles of inflectional languages. The combination *i-u* is not uncommon in Amardian; e. g. *miullu* „much.” *Siulkha* gives us the etymology of the Elamite royal names Silkhak and Simti-silkhak.

*A'ak* signifies „and” in Susian as well as in Amardian.

The word for „god” is *nappi*, not *appi* as Norris imagined (see Oppert on *Beh.* III. 61). This explains the Susian *napir-hu-ri* (*napiru-ri* like the Amardian *lubaru-ri* „servant”) „divine” (not „servorum” as Oppert).

Instead of *ba* Layard's copy has *as* in the corresponding passage in line 20. This may be compared with the Amardian *as-ki* „whatsoever,” where *ki* is the usual adverbial termination.

The *-ri* attached to the plural *šunki-p* (Amardian *šunku-k* „empire”) corresponds with the *-ra* of the singular *dik-ra* and explains the Amardian verbal form *nan-ri* „he says.” So *en-ri* „he was” (line 2).

2. *Kidi-k* is a passive formation in *-k*, like *kharik* „fewness,” *marrik* „taken,” *tarmak* „totality,” *tituk* „a liar,” *khuttik* „an envoy.” In Susian *-k* performs the same office. The root is found in *kiduwa* „I cut out:” *Beh.* II. 56, 65. *eldi kiduwa* „the eye(s) I cut out.” See note on *kidin* in line 4.

*Diumbe-k-ra* agrees with the genitive *Dipti*, like *dikra* above, and is another passive formation from *diumbe*. Similarly we have in Amardian *titu-k-ra* „lying,” *ibba-k-ra* „just” &c. The word seems to mean „superintending.” A similar combination of *m* and *b* occurs in the Susian *khumba*. Cp. *tur-nampi* „they know” (*Beh.* I. 39).

*Sisni-r* is explained by the Amardian *sisni-na* and *sisninu* „beautiful.” Similarly in Amardian we find *irsa-irra* by the side of *irsi-nna* „great.”

*En-ri* „he is” or „was” — since it has both meanings —

is a third person in *-ri* like *nan-ri* quoted above. At Behistun we also once find *en-rir* (II. 69). The 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. is once *en-ri-pi* (III. 78), and once *en-beb* (III. 72).

*Sein-ri* must be another 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. corresponding to the Amardian *sinnui-k* „he was come” the suffix *-ri* taking the place of the participial *-k*.

*En* is of course the Amardian *anu* „ne,” *inni* „non.” In Susian we have *in*, as *in khali-ku-me* „not injuries.”

*Riluin* is the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. of what Dr. Oppert calls the „second present,” from the stem *rilu* „to write,” which occurs seven times in the Amardian texts.

In Amardian *ukku* signifies „great,” *ukku-ra-irra* „of the great.”

The plural suffix in Amardian is more usually *mas* than *mes*, the latter being often reserved to form abstract collectives. The Susian suffix is *-me*, as in *khali-ku-me*, and is also used to form abstract collectives, and the Accadian is *mes*. It was probably pronounced *ves*, *vas*, since both in Amardian and in Accadian the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural of the perfect ends in *-s* which clearly goes back to the plural suffix. (See note on line 7). Thus the Amardian *turna-s* „they know,” *marri-s* „they seized,” the Accadian *in-garri-es* „they made,” must be analysed into *turna-ves*, *marri-ves*, *garri-ves*. The Amardian 3<sup>rd</sup> person sing. has borrowed the termination of the plural, and has further followed the analogy of the other persons of the verb to which a final *-a* might be attached. Hence we have *marrissa*. The original signification of *mes* or *ves* has been preserved in Accadian, where it is used as an independent word in the sense of „much.”

*Batin* occurs twice at Behistun (II. 45, III. 28), meaning „district.” The stem is *bati* to which the suffix *-na*, *-ni* or *-n* has been attached as in *sisni-na*. We shall find the word below in the full form *batinni*. See also *kidin*.

The possessive pronouns *mi* and *ni* are attached to the

noun as in the Amardian texts, with the suffix of declension following them. So also in Accadian.

3. *Din(?)khapa* will be a 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. with final *-a*, but the uncertainty of the reading makes it impossible to attempt a translation. The sense may be „they (i. e. the gods) approved of.”

The meaning of *situkinni* is pretty clear. The word is a passive formation in *-k*, with the genitive suffix which has changed *ā* into *ī* thro' the influence of the *i* preceding. (See above under *dikra*). The word should be read *situ-kī-nī*. *Situ* may possibly be the same as the Amardian *istu* in *istu-k-ra* „upright.”


A comparison of the passages in which *ah* occurs leaves no doubt that it is a demonstrative pronoun. It is the same word as *ayāe* „of this” in the inscription of Artaxerxes at Susa (line 1) which Norris and Oppert supposed to be Persian. *Ayāe* is written before its noun, however, instead of after it. Similarly the demonstrative *khi*, which usually follows its substantive, occasionally appears before it. The plural of *ah*, *ahbe*, occurs in line 11, but *ah* is also used with a plural noun (see line 7).

*Khīr* is used in the Akhæmenian inscriptions in the same way as here. It is really the demonstrative *khi* with the suffix *ra* or *ri*. *Pika* is the Amardian *pik-ti* or *pik-da* (XVIII. 4), „help.” For the suffix *-ti* see below. *Pika* may also be rendered „I helped.”

*Sukka-mana* and *lulma-mana* have what Dr. Oppert gives as the suffix of the first person sing. Pres. act. of the verb. I cannot myself find any examples of it, tho' we have *khutti-man-ra* „he was about to make” (*Beh.* I. 74), *tiri-man-pi* „they are called,” *gizza-mana* „to engrave” (XVI, 23)<sup>1</sup>;

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1) Compare also *khalpis-manka* and *khalpis-ni-man-ka* (*Beh.* II. 82), „slay thou” and *tiri-man-un* „we are called” (*Beh.* I. 5). Also *du-man* „he had” or „there was to him” (*Beh.* I. 38). *Tukmanna* „I was pleased” (K 18), is not a case in point, since the third person *tukmini-na* (K 13) shows that the stem is *tukman* or *tukma*.

here, however, the first person singular best suits the context. But it must be remembered that a verb in the true sense of the word did not exist in Amardian; no real distinction was made between the verb and the noun; and the persons of the verb, accordingly, are really infinitives and participles. *Šukka-mana* and *šukki* seem to be related to the Amardian *zikki-da* or *šikki-da* „I restored.” Compare *šikka* in II. 14. *Lulma-mana* is from *lulma* which has been translated „to dare” (Beh. I. 41), by Norris and Oppert. If, however,  has the value of *mak*, the word rendered by the Persian *haṇduga*, Bab. duppi („tablet”) is *lulmak* (Beh. III. 74, 75), „a record” and *lulmak* in Beh. I. 41, will be „(by no one) was it spoken,” — the very sense, in fact, required by the Persian „no one dared to speak” and the Babylonian „no one completes (a word) against.” See above, p. 665. *Lulma* may be a reduplicated form of *elma* „to think” or „say,” like *beb* „to make” by the side of *be*.

*Siulkhah-ba* and *babkhabba* must be translated as infinitives, tho' in Amardian *pirruir-sairra-ibba* is „they assembled,” *khutti-nun-hu-ba* „they wished to make,” *bebtī-bba* „it revolted.” Here the suffix *-ba*, which is otherwise the termination of the plural, seems to be attached to the first person singular. *Bab-khabba* is probably connected with the Amardian *beb-tu-isda* „he has made” (VI. 3), which stands by the side of the more ordinary *be-s-da* as well as *beb-ra-ka* „made” (L. 8). In Susian we find *khal-khabti-da* (Len. 32, 20; 42, 11). Cf. note on *salkhuba* line 8.

*Zuhis* seems to mean „sanctuary”. For the termination compare the Amardian *khumanuis* „a station,” *khal-marruis* „a fortress” (Beh. II, 29, 33, etc.), or *kur-das* for which see below. The postposition *zuba-ka* (Beh. I, 42), signifies „against.”

I am unable to identify the character which forms part of the name of the god beginning with *khu*. It may be the Amardian *mas* or *das*.

The country of *Risa* is mentioned in II. 4, 15, *Risara* „the *Risayan*” in II. 5. and the dative *Risara-ikki* in II. 8. It seems to be the name of the whole district in which the plain of Mal-Amir was situated (see note on II. 8.) On the obelisk of Sutrak Nakhkhunte at Susa we read (*Len.* 32. 6.) of *liku-me Risak* „the peoples of the *Risayans*” and immediately afterwards of the *Uxians* (*Khusa*) and the *Khiteans* (*Khite-ik*). *Risa* is, of course, not to be identified with the country of *Rasi*, which according to Sargon was on the Babylonian frontier of Elam, or with Bit-Risiya mentioned by Sennacherib.

*Kid-in* like *kid-ik* is from the root *kidu* „to cut”. We find a similar interchange of *u* and *i* in the stem in *titukka* „a liar” by the side of *titin-ra* „he will lie”. For the termination see note on *batin* above. It appears to denote „locality” so that just as *batin* is „district”, or *zaumin* „in the shadow of”, or *siya-n* (Amardian *ziyan*) „a palace”, *kidin* will be „a place of carving”, „a place where there are sculptures”. The suffix is the same as the verbal (or participial) one, as is shown by *siya-n*, literally „what is seen” from *siya* „to see”.

5. The syntax of *kidin ir-enra-irra* is frequent in the Amardian texts.

The pronunciation of the Amardian word for »mountain” is unfortunately not known. As *kha* can hardly be the full word and seems to be rather a phonetic complement, it would appear to have terminated in *-kh*.

*Hu* is „I” and „me” as in the Amardian texts, though it is not preceded by the upright wedge at Mal Amir as it is in the Akhæmenian transcripts. *Hu* or *u* may be compared with the Accadian *vu* (*wu*) »I” and »me”, Susian *u* or *va*.

The proper name *Khanni* (i. e. *Khāni*) would mean »the desirable” if Norris and Oppert are right in reading *khani-ra* „I desired” in VI. 31.

*Sak* „son” stands for *saku* as we learn from the spelling



*sakurri* (i. e. *sakú-ri*) in XVIII. 1. The word is also found in Susian.

*Takghi-khi-kutur* signifies »Aid this servant'' being composed of *takhhkhi*, on which see line 7<sup>1)</sup>, and *kutur* „a servant''. *Kutur* appears as *kutir* in Susian, the Babylonian form being *Kudur*, and the Kassite *kadar*, contracted into *kar(a)*. The root is found in the Amardian *kuti* »to bear'', so that the word properly means »the bearer''. Here, again, the interchange of *u* and *i* in the stem has to be noticed. See note on *kidin* above.

*Ápir* is writen *Khápir* in the Amardian texts. The difference of spelling illustrates the difficulty the Amardians found in representing the initial aspirate of their words, a difficulty which gave rise to the spelling *khu* for *hu* „I''. Perhaps we are intended to pronounce *Hápir*. In the Akhæmenian inscriptions the name of the country appears as *Khápirti* (*Beh.* I. 58, etc.) e. g. *Khápirtip* „the Amardians'', and as *Khápirtu*, e. g. *Khápirtura* „an Amardian''. At Mal Amir we have *Ápir*, *Ápir-irra*. *Ápir-ip-na* (I. 18) and *Ápirna-p-ma* (I. 17, 19.), where the suffix *-na* takes the place of the suffix *tu* or *ti*. In *Beh.* II. 7. (not also in III. 50. as Oppert says) the scribe has played upon the name by writing *khal* „town'' instead of *kha* in the first syllable. Similar plays upon proper names occur in the Assyrian inscriptions, as, e. g., where the name of the goddess *Zarpanitu* is written *zir baniti* »seed of the begetter''. At Naksh-i-Rustem (line 17) the copy (*khal-tu-pir-ti*) is corrupt, and we should probably read *khal Kha-pir-ti*. That there was „a town'' as well as „a country'' of *Khápirti* is clear from the Susian Obelisk of Sutrúk-Nakhhunte where we find (*Len.* 32. 24.) *khal Kha-pir-ti*. The passage reads: *a'ak . . . khir dasan khumi khal Khápirti el site khumas a'ak* D. P. KUR-KUR *Khi-te-ik . .*

1) The imperative is expressed here by the simple stem, as in the Amardian *mida* (*Beh.* II, 23) and *midí* (*Beh.* II, 39), „go"!



6. *Buktum* also appears as *bukti* (I. 12, II. 10.) where the suffix *ti* replaces *tum*. The latter suffix is also found in the Amardian *dassu-tum* (pl. *dassu-tum-be* L. 10), the Susian *tussu-tum* (Len. 32. 3.) We have *tu* standing by the side of *ti* in *Khafir-tu* and *Khafir-ti*, and the final *-m* is probably a contraction of the locative *-ma*. *Buktum* seems to mean „sanctuary” though *bukrir* in Susian is „much” <sup>1)</sup>.

*Khupak* „a chief” is the Amardian *khupa* „chief”, whence *khupa-giud* „I was chief”. An Elamite town taken by Senacherib was called *Khupa-panu*.

7. The stem *dakh* has the radical meaning of „accompanying”. Hence in the Amardian texts we have *dakhuip* „they accompany” or „aid” (*Beh.* III 92.), *dahu-man-luip* (where *h* replaces *kh*) „they wished to aid” (*Beh.* III. 93.), *da'ae* „other”, *dah* „I sent against”, *dasda* „he had made”, *dais* „he was”.

At Mal-Amir the verb usually signifies „to accompany” or „aid”, except the first person *takh* (*dakh*) which means „I sent” or „made” as in the Akhæmenian texts. In II. 28, 33 it is written *dakha*. It is curious that in Amardian the ideas of „sending”, „making” and „being” are confused together. Thus *khuttik* is „an envoy”, but *khuttuk* is „made”.

*Zalmumas* is an interesting word, as it is borrowed from the Assyrian *zalmu* „an image”, with the Amardian suffix of plurality attached to it. The word is found at Naksh-i-Rustem (33—4.) where the copy must be corrected into *za-ul-mu-hu-is*, which has been misread by both Norris and Oppert, though Oppert has perceived the true meaning and origin of the word. The spelling at Naksh-i-Rustem shows that the suffix which we find in *khumanuis* and *zuhis* (see line 4 above) is the plural *mas* or *mes*, and it further shows that this suffix was pronounced *vas*, *ves*. Hence the origin of the

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1) In this case we should have to translate: „of the multitude of these gods of the Narisians and of Dipti” etc.

3rd person of the preterite of the verb can admit of no question (see above). The occurrence of *zalmumas* at Mal Amir makes it probable that other Assyrian words like *mannaut-mas* „tributes” (VI. 14.) or *izmarrum* „a spear” (VI. 36.) Assyrian *azmarrum*, which are found in the Akhæmenian texts, were borrowed, not in the age of Darius, but in that earlier period when the cuneiform characters themselves were derived from Babylonia. Indeed we find *madat* on the Obelisk of Sutrak-Nakhkhunte (*Len.* 32. 28.) — *bukrir-me madat taka bukrir murkhuh*” quantities of tribute (and) long life I received” — but the Susian form of the word proves that it could not have been the original of the Amardian one. This latter presupposes the Babylonian *mandattu*.

8. *Tibba* is the Amardian *tibbe* where the final vowel has been assimilated to that of the root, but we also have *tibba* (L. 7.) and we find *tibbe* in line 16. of our Mal Amir text. *Tibbe* is always associated with *dah*, *tibba* with *bebraka*, *dah* and *bebraka* following like *salkhuba* here. The word must mean „I made” (see VI. 5.) or „sent”. For the interchange of these two significations in Amardian see above on *dakh* (line 7).

The meaning of *salkhuba* can hardly be any thing else than „I completed” or „accomplished”, if we consider its use in Ia. 11. As has just been remarked, it here takes the place of *bebraka* in the Akhæmenian texts. See note on *suilkhahba* line 3.

I should compare *isni* with the Amardian *masni* or *vasni* „then”, *vassa-vasraka* „after” and *vas-issin* „hereafter”. In *issin* the first syllable of the word has similarly been weakened from *vas* into *is*.

*Tartuk* is restored from lines 9, 11, etc. It is the Amardian *tartuak* „complete”, *tartuka* „completely”, passive formations from the stem *tartu*. This appears also as *tarti* in *tartin* (misread *tarvak* by Oppert) „in all”. The root is *tar*

as we learn from *tar-ma* „all” (also found in *tarmas du* „it shall be entire” *Beh.* III. 65.) *Tu*, *ti*, *ma* and *mas* (here written *ma + as*) are all, as we have seen, formative suffixes.

*Humi* is, I believe, the Amardian *khami* „there”. It is clearly from the same root as the verbal *huma-beb* in lines 11, 17. This is written *khumakni* in line 23, and both form and context show that it must be the same as the Susian *khumas* „he inhabited” (*Len.* 32. 23, 25.) and *khumi* „there” (*Len.* 32. 24.) The Amardian representative of these words is *khumanuis* „a fortress”. For the interchange of *u* and *a* in the root compare the Amardian *dunis* and *danas* „he gave”, *duma* (*duva*) „I was” and *dais* „he was”. *Humi-ma* occurs in Susian (*Len.* 32. 4.) where Oppert renders it „pro me solo”, but it has no connection with *khumas* which is found in the same inscription.

9. In *khuddan-ba* we again find the suffix *ba* denoting the first person singular.

The verb is the one so common in the Amardian texts, the stem of which has the varying forms of *khudda*, *khuddi* and *khuddu* and signifies „to make”. As Dr. Oppert has pointed out, the factitive conjugation in Amardian is formed by the suffix *n*.

The reading of the ideograph for „name” is assured by the Amardian *khise* „named” or „by name”, as well as by *khi-is* in L. 6, which Oppert misreads as an ideograph followed by „the index of an ideograph” (i. e. really the ideograph of plurality) and translates „prayer”. Norris similarly misreads the word, and, like Oppert, gives a wrong reference. As the word is preceded by the horizontal wedge, the exact signification of it would be „place of name”. With the correct reading falls away Oppert’s ingenious reference of the word to the *Zandi* or „Prayer” of Zoroastrianism. As the passage is an important one, and has been made a subject of

a good deal of discussion in consequence of Dr. Oppert's theory that it relates to the republication of the Zend-Avesta by Darius, while it exists only in the Amardian text, it is as well to reproduce it here in full. It will be seen from this how much of Dr. Oppert's translation is really certain: —

(L.) (1) D. P. Da-ri-ya-va-u-is *khain* na-an-ri: za-u- (2) mi-in D. P. U-ra-mas-da-na D. P. hu D. P. (of place) dup-pi-mas (3) da-a-e-ik-ki khu-ud-da khar-ri-ya-ma (4) ap-pa sa-is-sa in-ni en-ri; ku-ud-da D. P. (of place) kha-tu- (5) ad uk-ku ku-ud-da D. P. (of place) ŠU-mes uk-ku ku-ud-da (6) D. P. (of place) khi-is ku-ud-da e-ip-pi khu-ud-da, ku- (7) ud-da ri-lu-ik ku-ud-da D. P. hu ti- (8) ib-ba be-ib-ra-ka; {  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{vas} \\ \text{mas} \end{smallmatrix}$  } -ni dup-pi-mas am- (9) mak-nu D. P. Da-a-e-hu-is mar-ri-da kha-ti- (10) ma D. P. hu din-gi-ya D. P. tas-su-tum-be ša-pi-is.

„Darius the king says: In the shadow of Ormazd I tablets elsewhere (*or* for others) have made in Arian, which formerly did not exist; moreover {  $\begin{smallmatrix} \dots \text{ of the law} \\ \text{a great} \dots \end{smallmatrix}$  }, and

{  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{additions to the law} \\ \text{great additions} \end{smallmatrix}$  }, and a name (*or* name-place i. e. title),

and a... I have made, and it was written, and I caused it to be sent abroad: then the former tablets among all the provinces I restored (and) the peoples knew". Dr. Oppert, in spite of the squeeze, changes *at* in line 5 into *uk* and reads *haduk* (instead of *khatuad*) which he supposes to be a transliteration of the Persian *hañduga* „edict". Elsewhere, however, *hañdugā* is rendered by the Amardian *lulmak*. I should myself connect *khatuad* (where we have *u + a* as in *tartuak*) with *khatarriman* (i. e. *khatá-ri-man*) „adherents" or „followers" and translate it „appendix" or „supplement". In *Beh.* III. 66, 67, 70, 84, 85, 88, the inscription of Behistun is called *duppi khi* „this tablet", but the fact that Darius here says that what he made was sent abroad makes me agree



with Dr. Oppert in holding that the plural *duppi-mas* cannot refer to monumental inscriptions, but to a book or books. Nor can a simple edict well be meant, since Darius would hardly say of it: „the former tablets among all the provinces I restored”, the work of restoration being accomplished *after* the completion of „the additions” and other things. *Ukku*, which Dr. Oppert translates „law”, is used in the sense only of „great” or of „universe” in those passages where its meaning can be determined with certainty by the Persian or Babylonian transcripts. In *Beh.* III. 80 the Persian text is defective, though Dr. Oppert’s acute restoration of it is supported by the Babylonian *ina di(?) - na - a - tam a - ši - ig - gu* „by the law I prevail” and in the corresponding passage of the Amardian text in *Beh.* I. 18. we have *batur dinum* in place of *batur ukku*. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to think that Dr. Oppert’s translation of *ukku* in the passage before us is correct, partly because it once follows the plural *ŠU-mes*, partly because an adjective meaning „great” is not very intelligible. I am also inclined to think that Dr. Oppert is right in interpreting the word here as referring to the sacred law; at all events „the law” by means of which Darius became great, according to the Babylonian and Amardian versions of *Beh.* III. 80, is carefully distinguished from »my law” of *Beh.* I. 18 <sup>1)</sup>. Dr. Oppert’s conjecture that *eippi* signifies „a translation” is rendered probable by the context. The meaning of *sapi-s* is determined by the phrase *sap appa* „knowing which”, i. e. „because of that” (*Beh.* III. 79).

*Khihši* „name” is found in Susian (*Len.* 33. 6.), as Oppert has pointed out.

*Širmuininni* is probably connected with the Amardian verb *šira* »I shut up” (*Beh.* II. 58.) which Oppert has misread

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1) Moreover in the Mal Amir inscriptions *dina* (the *dinum* of *Beh.* I. 18.) is used only of *sacred* law.

*dirra* and mistranslated „impaled”. See above p. 669. The termination is the same as that in *batinni*.

*Ardan* is the first person sing. of the causative conjugation of *arda* „To inhabit”, „establish”, Amardian *kharda*. Dr. Oppert finds the same verb in the Susian *urdakhhkhanra* (*Len.* 32. 8.) and *urdani*. Throughout Mal-Amir II. the word is written with initial *kh* (II. 6., II. 16., II. 18. and II. 30).


*Khuhsu-na* is a genitive singular, which may be connected with *khis* „a name”. The nominative *khusu* occurs in line 23, without *h*, which is inserted as in the Amardian *khuhbe* (*Beh.* I, 19) instead of *khube*.

XXI *ir tar* must be compared with the Amardian MAN *ir tar-tin* XXIII (*Beh.* I. 14). The meaning of the whole sentence is: „the addition of the *names* (?) in all, (and) of the enclosure, 21 altogether, (by the help of) the god Uz... I write”.

10. In *khuttakba* the suffix *ba*, which is used above of the first person singular, is attached to the passive participle.

The translation is „the names” or „name of Indakri the son of the king Sutor-Kit”. Indakri is a passive formation from an unknown stem *inda*, with the suffix *ri* attached. Compare the Elamite royal name Inda-bigas. Sutor is formed, like Kudur, from *suti*, of unknown signification. The name of the Sun-god was Kit in Kassite (see W. A. I. II. 65. 28), though there is but a remote possibility of the same name being given to him at Mal-Amir.

In *khumuddirka* the passive suffix is attached to the suffix *-r*, the stem being *khumuddi*. What this means I have no idea.

The ideograph used here is not the character *man*, as Dr. Oppert perceived when noting its occurrence in Amardian (*Beh.* I. 14, see line 9 above where I have represented it by MAN.) The Assyrian equivalent is .

11. Besides the locative *kini-ma* we have the genitive

*kini-na* in line 13, and the simple *kini* in II. 11. The rendering „rock” is a pure guess.

The signification of *khakuzuh* is equally doubtful. We find it again in *Id.* 4 and II. 3., and the passive precative *khakunzuakni* (II. 11.) must be the same word.

It is difficult to say whether we are to render: „(the names and temple-buildings) occupy the land of Khidi”, or: „as for (the men) who occupy the land of Khidi”. In the first case the land of Khidi would be synonymous with the land of Apirti. This, however, is not very consistent with the testimony of the Susian texts, which, as quoted above, seem to distinguish between Khapirti and Khidi, the first being the plain of Mal-Amir, the second the mountains surrounding it. At any rate, Khidi formed part of the territory of the Apirian king. Sutruk-Nakhkhunte on his Obelisk makes the name of the Khitians follow immediately on that of the Uxians (*Len.* 32. 7.). In an earlier passage of the Obelisk (line 3.) he says: *a'ak masgil susah ti-e* D. P. KUR KUR *Khi-te-ik tu-us-su-tum a'ak Susun tengih* „and... I destroyed (Amardian *sašak Beh.* I. 78. as Sus. *suseti* = Amard. *sassada*) the people (Amard. *tassutum*) of the mountains of the Khitians and I restored Susa”. At the end of the inscription he states that the captives he employed were „in all 2415 Uxians (and) Khitians” (line 33.)

12. *Dina* „law”, *dinum* in the Amardian texts, is borrowed from the Assyro-Babylonian *dinum*, *dina*. The native word seems to be *ukku*, literally „the great thing”: see above.

*Šulra-irra-na* is a formative in *-ra* from *šul*. The meaning of this stem is settled by the Susian texts, where we find, e. g. *Len.* 37. 3. „the temple of Nakhkhunte the chief (*sulla*) of the gods”, *Susun zul murun* (*Len.* 32. 27.) „Susa the head of the earth”.

In Amardian *dana* and *duni* signify „to give”, and an unpublished Susian inscription of Silkhak concludes with the

words *napiruri dunih* „I the divine one have given”. Here, however, *dari* must have the same meaning. It is possible that the root *tar* „to complete” should be read *dar*, so that the literal meaning of *dari* would be „completing to (me)”, „giving in full (to me)”. It is also possible that *ri* is miscopied for *ni*.

Anzana or Anzan is the country called Elam „the highlands” by the Assyro-Babylonians and Hebrews. This is formally stated in W. A. I. II. 47. 18. (where *as-sa-an* should be corrected into *an-sa-an*). Here the name, which according to the gloss is to be pronounced Ansan, is written *an-du-an*, from which we may infer that the Elamite word for „going”, *du* (*dun*) in Accadian, was *sa*. This is verified by our finding that in Amardian *ša* is „to go”. Ansan is also written Anzan in Assyro-Babylonian, and Nabonidos as well as Cyrus himself calls Cyrus like his ancestors, a king of Anzan. In Isaiah XXI. 2. it is rendered in Hebrew by Elam. The Susian kings term themselves rulers of Anzan, their stereotyped title being: *anin Susinak gik libak gik sunkik Anzan Susunka anin Susinak napiruri* „the Susian king, the powerful prince, the imperial prince of Anzan, the Susian, the Susian king, the divine”<sup>1)</sup>. As their inscriptions are found not only in Susa but also at Bushire, Anzan or Elam must have extended from Susa in the north to the Persian Gulf

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1) Professor Schrader has lately maintained (*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* 2nd edit. p. 610) that *Susinak* means „Susiana”, not „Susian”. The argument, however, which he derives from the Biblical *שושנכא* is not convincing since *כשריא* is formed from a gentile, not a geographical, name. But the proof that *Susinak* signifies only „Susian” is complete. The supreme god of Susa bore a name which his worshippers were reluctant to pronounce and he was therefore usually entitled *Susinak* (W. A. I. II. 57. 48.) which can only mean „the Susian” god. The termination is the same as that of *Dagbak*, an other title of the god, or of *libak* „strong”, *sunkik* „imperial”. Like the same suffix in Amardian it is a contraction of *-ka* which appears in *Susun-ka*. In *Susinak* the second vowel of *Susun* has been weakened into *i* — a change for which, as we have already seen, Amardian offers us parallels. *Susinak* stands to *Susunka* in the same relation as the Mal-Amir *ahinap* to *ahinbe*.

in the south. The name of Anzan is also found in *Beh.* III. 3. where Darius says of Veisdates, „(then the Persian people revolted, [appa u]elmannu D. P. Anzan ... who (belonged to) the clans of Anzan”. The only period at which Anzan or Elam was likely to be occupied by a king of Khapirti was after the decline of Assyria and before the invasion of Teispes the Persian. At this period Jeremiah (XXV. 25.) speaks of „the kings of Elam” (B. C. 606). The union of Khapirti and Azan effected at this time may have caused the dialect and syllabary of Khapirti to become paramount throughout Elam and thus have led to their employment in the Akhæmænian inscriptions.

13. *Mida* and *midi* signify „to go” in Amardian, and as *midu* has the determinative of place before it, its meaning is clear.

*Zikki* is „to restore” in Amardian; we may possibly have the same word here, *šukki* with *u* in the root (line 3) being only a different form of it.

*Kudube* is a plural noun from *kudu*, possibly „additions”, connected with *kudda* „moreover”.

If Norris was right in regarding *zaumin* „in the shadow of” as a compound word consisting of *zau* and *min*, we might here render *min* „roof”, „covering”.

*Pirpis* in Amardian is „he captured” (*Beh.* III. 43.). This is probably the same word as *pirbakha* here.

*Pari* is „to go” in Amardian. Here *parikh* will be the first pers. sing., but below in lines 16 and 19 it seems difficult to translate it otherwise than as „a road”.

The context leaves no doubt as to the meaning of *šatar-tuk* which seems to be a compound of *ša* „to go” and *tartu* „complete”. Hence the word would signify literally: „completely gone”.

*Šarih* is the first pers. sing. of the Amardian verb *sari* „to destroy” (*Beh.* I. 49, etc.)

14. *Pakaski* is an adverb formed like several others in

Amardian by the suffix of the dative *ki*. Comp. *aski* above. The context leaves no doubt as to the sense of the word.

*Takhakha* or *dakhakha* is the Amardian *da'ae* „other”. See note on *takkkhi* above line 7.

*Siyan* is the Amardian *ziyan* (*Beh.* I. 48.), Susian *siyan*. But whereas the Susian word is used of the royal palace, *ziyan* and *siyan* both at Behistun and at Mal-Amir signify „a temple”. At Behistun the word is preceded by the determinative of divinity. The agreement of the Mal-Amir form of the word with the Susian, shows that the Amardian *z* is a modification of an original *s*. The word is formed by the suffix *n* (like *batin*) from *ziya* „to see”, and a bye-form of it is the plural *zip* which signifies at Behistun (II. 56, 65.) „a palace-court” with the chambers that surrounded it.

The context shows that *khuzana* must have the general sense of „occupying”, but what the precise shade of signification may be it is impossible so say.

*Turas* is connected with the temporal postposition *turi* „since”, and has the same termination as *rudas* „against”.

The two next characters seem, both of them, to be numerals, though I do not understand them. However in *Beh.* I. 45. *lu . . ya* means „I restored” (though unfortunately the reading is not certain), and it is therefore possible that we ought to correct Layard's text here and read *luvan* „I restored”. The whole sentence would then be: „instead of this one, another Apirian temple and a residence for the god who occupies it I restored subsequently”.

There can be no reason why the character *khal* was selected in Amardian and Susian to denote the word „town” except that it represented the pronunciation of the latter word. It forms the first part of the Amardian compound *khal-mar-ruis* „a fortress” (from *marri* „to seize” or „possess”), and may possibly be connected with *uelmannu* (i. e. *uelmánu*) „a clan”. The last word, it will be noticed, has the same



suffix as *khuva-nu-is*. Compare *irmali* »satrapy» (*Beh.* III. 31).

15. *Inra-na* seems to be a genitive of a noun coupled with *khal* like *marruis*, but I cannot explain it.

Nor can I explain the largeness of the numeral 4000, to which *h* is attached as a phonetic complement. *Pi* is certainly the relative pronoun here, as Norris considered it to be in the Akhæmenian texts, from which Dr. Oppert has endeavoured to remove it.

*Kusih*, instead of which we have *kusikha* in lines 17, 19, with the original vowel of the termination, signifies „I built”, as in Amardian.

*Khuhmas* is evidently „these”, and I am inclined to think that Layard has miscopied *mas* instead of *be*.

I can suggest no meaning for *pitakka* or *pidakka*. *Ir-pippi* is „they were before” in *Beh.* III. 72., and *pitakka* may therefore be an adverb signifying „as formerly” like *appu-ka-da*.

If the first character were certain the next word would be *dinkuh* „I restored”, Amardian *dingi*, Susian *tengih* (*Len.* 32. 22.)

16. *Khuttakh* or rather *khuddakh* is the Amardian *khudda*.

*Marih*, written *marikha* in line 19, is the Amardian *marri* „to take” or „possess”.

It will be observed that the first person singular ends in *-h* when *a'ak* follows, in *-kha* when no *a'ak* follows.

As stated above, *parikh* is more probably to be translated „a road” here than as a first person of a verb.

17. *Ahinap* for which we have *ahinbe* in line 19, must be the plural of *âin* „a king”. The kings will be the rulers of the otherwise unknown country of Sahsikî, through which the river Pirin seems to have run.

*Banda*, omitted in line 12, here comes between *dina* and *buktum*, the sentence being closed with the passive participle *bandak* which is found again in II. 29. The sense either of „ordinance” or of „prosperity” would suit both passages.

19. *Ganya-ma*, the locative, must be connected with the

plural *gan-mas* which is coupled with *khardakkimas* „abodes” in II. 6., as well as with *gantum*, which is coupled with *dina* „the law” in II. 31. Cp. the Amardian *in-káni* „to love”, „be at peace”.

20. *Ahinap in salkhubah* seems to be the contrary of *ahinap salkhubah* (line 17), *in* being the Amardian *inni* „not”. At the same time *inni* appears in II. 6., while at Behistun (II. 50.) we find the verb *in-paru-giud* „I arrived”, evidently connected with *pari*. There, therefore, the prefix *in* must convey the sense of „nearness”, and this perhaps is its meaning here <sup>1)</sup>.

For *as* „whatsoever”, see note on line 1.

21. The signification of *rir* is clear from the context and the determinative prefix. In Amardian *iz-ru-ir* is „a stake”, where *iz* may possibly be the determinative of „wood”. If so, *rir* might have the special meaning of „a column”.

I can suggest no very satisfactory meaning for the genitive *mukku-na* here and in line 24. The plural is written *mukku-mas*, from which I infer that the accent of the genitive was on the first syllable. From the sculptures it would seem that „musicians” ought to be mentioned here; but there is no determinative of person before the word. Hence it can hardly denote anything else than „the sacrifice” which is also represented by the sculptures.

*Bannizaipiti* will be the 3rd pers. plur. of what Dr. Oppert calls the pluperfect passive. The 3rd pers. S. plup. active is *tiristi* „one had called”, *emidusti* „he had taken away”, and

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1) *In-paru-giud* is the same verb as *in-parru-is-da* in Beh. IV. 81. which is preceded by *par-na* with the determinative of person. The literal rendering of the passage is „the man who has approached my family as an overseer”. The corresponding Persian and Babylonian terms are *hamatakshatā* and *uptikid*. The termination *giud* or *giudda* is a compound of *-gi* as in *nan-gi* „I said”, and *ú-da*, where *u* is the first personal pronoun. We find it again in the first person plural, which is written *khutti-hud* and *khudda-khud*. For the Accadian *gin* or *gén* „I” see Haupt: „Die Akkadische Sprache” p. XXXIX.

*bannizaip̄ti* stands in the same relation to *tiristi* that *bebtis* „he revolted” stands to *bebtip̄* „they were revolted”. I can only guess at the meaning of the stem.

*Miulka* is the adverb from the Amardian *miul* and *miullu* „much”.

22. *Sakhis dukhi (e aras)* occurs again in II. 32. *Dukhi* I believe to be connected with the root *du* „to be”, and *sakhis* is a substantive like *khumanuis*, *marruis* etc. It therefore ought to signify some part of the temple, perhaps „the enceinte” or „exterior”.

In this case *tusedinra*, which is the 3rd S. future of a stem *tusedi* from a root *tuse* will have some such signification as „will contain”. Compare *tuse-inni* line 3.

The vocalic suffix of *é* re-appears in line 24: It is curious that *é* „house” in Accadian is also sometimes written *é-a*. It is, however, possible that *ea* here is the same as the Amardian *eva-mas* „gateway” (XV. 11.), the semivowel *v* or *w* being lost.

*E aras* occurs again in II. 32. The termination of *aras* reminds us of the adverbial *rudas*, *mas*, etc., and since it is followed by the indefinite *khuddanra*, it must have a meaning like „if”, or „anyone”. *Kuddanra* is used impersonally like *tiristi* (*Beh.* I. 9, etc.).

If *Dilbat* is the right reading we should have mention of the Accadian stellar divinity *Dilbat*, literally „the announcer” of dawn, that is to say the planet Mercury. Hesykhios quotes the name as Δελεφάτ.

23. *Tak-ma* or *dak-ma* „in life”, Amardian *daka*, Susian *taka* (*Len.* 32. 28 <sup>1</sup>).)

*Khumakni* has the termination of the 3rd pers. S. precativ passive which is the same in Amardian.

*Kukuk* is either a reduplicated form of the root of the

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1) *Da-ka* is a passive derivative from *da* „to be”.

Amardian stem *kukti* „to favour” or „protect”, or a contracted form of the participle *kuku-ka*.

If *duen* is the right reading, it may be connected with *duni* „to give”.

In *kimes*, *ki* cannot be the ideograph of „country” as that would make no sense, and require the horizontal wedge to precede it. *Ki* claims connection with the Amardian *ki-k* „after” (Beh. III. 7.) and *kimes* must therefore mean „posterity”.

The context shows that *rukku* must mean „transgressor”.

The consonant proves that *rappi-tum* is not related to the Amardian *rabba-ka* „bound”, but to *rippi-sni* „may he curse”, where the vowel of the root has been assimilated to that of the second syllable. It will be noticed that the horizontal wedge is used before this word of abstract signification just as is so repeatedly the case in the Akhæmenian inscriptions.

The ideographic name of the Sun-god, with a phonetic complement, is employed in the signification of „publicly”, „in the daylight”, just as it is in the Vannic inscriptions. It may read *nanni*.

*Sara-ra* is not the Amardian *sera* „to set”, but *sairra* „to add”, „put”, in the phrase *pirruir-sarairraibba* „they joined themselves together”, „they assembled”. It is the same word as *sara* „I placed”, mistranslated „I cut” by Oppert, in the phrase „them in the fortress of Ekbatana (*marrikmes sara*) as prisoners I placed” (Beh. II. 58.). The adverb *sarak* means literally „what is placed”, „position”. Hence it is used in the sense of „times” (Lat. „vices”) as well as in such phrases as *anka sarak* „if at any time”, *kudda sarak* „once again”.

24. *Salzi* ought to be connected with *salkhubah*; but the context seems to require some such expression as „unless”. The suffix *zi*, if it is a suffix, is otherwise unknown to me.

*Undannamip* is a third pers. pl. like the Amardian *tiri-vanpi* and *turnampi* „they know” (Beh. I. 39.) and shows

that Oppert is right in his explanation of these forms. The root appears in the Susian proper name Undas, perhaps also in the Kassite Kara-Indas „servant of Indas”. The meaning is quite uncertain.

The next word should perhaps be read *si-in-ni-ik* „come”, „approached”.

The final aspirate of KUR-*kha* is probably the pronom. *ah* which is agglutinated to the word preceding it. According to the rules of Amardian syntax, the translation of the sentence will be „the sculpture of the gods of the mountain”, not »of the mountain of the gods”.

The last character is probably an error and does not exist at all upon the monument. If it does, it can only be an adverb signifying „here”.

Ib. 2. *Kuis* is frequent in the Amardian texts in the sense of „while”, „up to”.

Didukhunti will be the name of the chief priest. Compare for the termination the name of the Susian god Nakkhunte, written Nankhundi in Assyrian <sup>1)</sup>.

Ic. 1. *Ikkir* appears to be a title, though it is strange that it has no determinative prefix. But the suffix *-ir* shows that it must signify some class of individuals.

Sutruru-ragi is mentioned in II. 12. The first part of the name is allied to Suttur, Susian Sutruk.

Id. 1. *Zak* is a passive participle from *za* of unknown signification. We find the word again in II. 3. and II. 6., where it seems to mean „concealed”; cp. Amardian *zau-min*. Šu...sumu is not mentioned again.

*Khu(?)llura* is a first pers. sing. of the preterite. Perhaps we ought to read *miullura* „I enlarged”.

II. 2. *Serah* is the Amardian *sera*, to be distinguished from *sara* (I. 23.).

1) Nankhundi is identified with the Assyrian Istar in Smith's *Assurbanipal* p. 230 line 91.

The sense of the line is probably: „my priest... the man of the Apirian god I consecrated, namely Ba.... batina”. The latter name is perhaps the Bamban of line 26.

3. The reading and meaning of *utkharanuk* are alike doubtful.

*Pirkhuk* — a reading which may be accepted as certain — may be connected with the Amardian *pir-ka*, which answers to our „current” and seems properly to signify „completed”.

*Inrud* is evidently the Amardian *enriud* which is used of „a river-bank” in *Beh.* I. 67.

4. *Khanik* is the Amardian *khani*, on which see note on the proper name Khanni I. 5.

In line 7 *bukhu* has the determinative of a person and I believe it to be the word which should be read in line 2 with the meaning of „priest”.

*Huhumma* (i. e. *huhú-ma*) is the locative of *huhu* which I believe to be an onomatopœic word.

5. The construction here is „in the land of Risa of the god Bartiza, viz. this land of the Risayans”. Here it is distinctly stated that the plain of Mal Amir formed part of the land of Risa. See note on I. 4.

Besides Bartiza (II. 4, 7, 27, 35.) we have also Barti (II. 8, 11, 13, 15, 30). Among the gods whose images were carried away from Susa by Assur-bani-pal (W. A. I. V. 6. 34.) was Parti-kira, which suggests that we ought to pronounce Parti and Parti-za. Parti-kira is „Parti-one” and is probably identical with Barti (Parti). The *za* of Parti-za will be the same word as that which we find in *zak*, and if the latter means „concealed”, Parti-za will be „the concealed Parti”, reminding us that according to Assur-bani-pal (Smith’s *Assurb.* p. 228) Susinak the god of the oracle of the Susians dwelt „in a secret place, the image of whose divinity no one had seen”.

*Tak* is clearly an adverb like the Amardian *khamak* „how



much", *sarak* „again", and the sense is clear. I believe it to be the same word as *taka* or *daka* „life", but it is possible that it should be pronounced *dak* and derived from *da* „to be".

6. *Bera* is from *be* „to make", from which we have *be-isdā* at Behistun.

The termination of *kasaki* shows that it is an adverb, but the stem *kasa* is not found in the Akhæmenian texts. The word appears to signify „at the time", „at once".

*Khardakkimas* (i. e. *Khardā-ki-vas*) is treated as a verb, governing the prefixed pronoun *ir*. *Ir* precedes the so-called neuter verbs in *-k* (like *ir-parik* „he went") in the Amardian inscriptions. It will be observed that the accentuation of *khardā-kimas* differs from that of similar forms in the Akhæmenian texts, e. g. *sabarrakū-mas* „battles", *titkiū-mas* „falsehoods".

7. *Sud* must be the Amardian *sadanika*, *satīnika*, *sauttīnika*, *sattīnika* „extended", and is perhaps the root of the proper name *Sutur* (? „the tall" or „long-living"). The Accadian root is *sud*.

8. The suffix *-ikki* usually denotes the dative, „to", in Amardian, but we also find *Kharmīnuya-ip-ikki zatis* „he waited in Armenia" (*Beh.* II. 48).

For the root *kha* we have only *khami* „there", *khamak* „how many", *khadi* „venerable" (not „father" as Norris and Oppert), *khaum* „I became" (*Beh.* III. 79, for *khaumā*), and *kha-khudda-ip* „they became". I should therefore assign to it the signification of „getting", „attaching to", the derivative *khaum* and the compound *kha-khudda* having the intransitive sense of „becoming".

*Piruri* „all" as in Amardian, *-ri* being the definite suffix. For *zabutuh* I can offer only a guess.

9. So also for *nitum*.

In the Akhæmenian inscriptions we find only *nuku* „we",

the place of the genitive *nuku-na* being taken by the possessive *nukami*<sup>1)</sup>.

*Kurdinni* and *kurdinti* are evidently the same word as *kurdas* (*Beh.* I. 48.) corresponding to the Persian *māniya* the meaning of which is a matter of dispute. Oppert suggests „religion” or „official language”, Spiegel „dwelling”, the latter signification being one which would very well suit *kurdinni* in the passage before us. As *kurdas* is preceded by the upright wedge, however, a class of persons is probably alluded to, perhaps „the priesthood”. *Kurdas* is a formation like *rikhdas* from *kurda-s* (see above, p. 666). Perhaps *kurdin* means „a religious rite”.

10. *Kurdinti* ought to be a second person sing. and *-ni* in *bukti-ni* the 2<sup>nd</sup> pronoun suffix, but I do not see how this suits the context.

*Dakhu* „to aid” is conjugated with the forms of the neuter verbs in the Akhæmenian texts, and we should therefore expect to find, as here, the passive form of the precativ.

11. I can only guess at the meaning of the verb *ammaba*.

12. The Sun-god is here represented by the numeral XX, as is frequently the case in Assyrian. So also in line 29.

*Gilu-irra* agrees with *Sutruru-ragi*. We find *gilû* in Susian (*Len.* 32. 11, 12.), where we have TE MUN TE *gi-lu-u(na)* „a foundation of brick, a foundation of wood(?)”. Perhaps, therefore, we may translate *gilu-irra* „carpenter”.

14. Since Mal Amir *siyan* is Amardian *ziyan*, *šikka* will correspond to the Amardian *ziya* and *zi* „to see”. The word

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1) It will be observed that *mi* not only denotes the possessive of the first person, and when suffixed to *nuka* the possessive of the second person, but also when suffixed to *nuda* (in *nuda-mi*) the possessive of the third person. Similarly *nu* which (like *ni*) represents the second person when conjoined with the suffix *ka*, denotes the third person when conjoined with the suffix *da*. It is evident that, as in Chinese, the Amardian personal pronouns, with the exception of the third and perhaps of the first, must originally have been nouns expressing such ideas as „servant”, „master”.

has the adverb termination and would therefore mean „providently”.

18. From lines 23 and 29 it would appear that Tipira was the name of the chief sculptor.

19. The name of Ras-barti seems to be compounded with that of the god Barti.

20. *Du-isni* is the precative of *du* which in Amardian means „to be”; here it plainly has the signification of „to make” like the Amardian *da*. The signification „to make”, however, appears in the Amardian *emi-du* „to make a booty”.

21. Perhaps the full word is *ammabakni* or *pirbakni*.

22. The *danrasis* are mentioned again in line 30.

The ideograph BAR cannot have its usual meaning of „half” here, nor can it well be „a collection of writings” (*kissu sa sipri* W. A. I. II. 48. 25.), nor „bonds” or „chains”. As it is also equivalent to the Assyrian *makhazu* and *birtu* „a fortress”, I think that must be its signification in this passage.

24. *Numban-isti*, 3 pers. pluperf. of the „causative” conjugation, like *tiristi* „they had been called”, lit. „one had called”. It is clearly the Amardian *nuibba-k* „imitated”, „likeness” (*Beh.* III. 72.) with *m* inserted before *b*, like *n* before *z* in *khakunzuh* (II. 11.).

27. *Tikhuri-k-ra* is a formation like *titu-kra* „a liar”, *ibba-kra* „just”, but its meaning cannot be determined.

*šulsehud šulseh* may possibly be „the god (whom) we adore (and) I adore”, the stem *šulse* being a derivative from *šul*. Among the Elamite towns mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions is Dannat Šulâ „the stronghold of Šulâ”.

28. *Api* is the Amardian *appi*.

The meaning of *ispilu* is fixed by line 30. It must denote the cave-chapels of the Shikafti Salmán.

29. Here the suffix *da* has the same meaning of the possessive first personal pronoun that it has in the Amardian *adda-da*. It is really, however, an adverbial demonstrative,

which may be rendered „here”, and its choice is determined by the pluperfect *du-is-da*.

31. For *antini* I can suggest no explanation. *Mipika* is an adverb apparently, which may possibly signify „injuriously”.

33. Perhaps we should read here KUR-*kha-ma* „in the mountain”.

For *pal* I can suggest no meaning. It appears also in the proper name Ragi-*pal-iklu*. *Balu* „to work”, in Amardian, is found only in two passages (*Beh.* I. 53, 54.) where the reading is unfortunately doubtful.

*Dusa* is the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. of *du*, as in the compound verb *emi-dusa* „he made a spoil” (not „il agit à sa guise” as Oppert) <sup>1)</sup>. Here it seems to mean „they were”, rather than „he” or „they made”. See note above on line 20.

34. Kirissa is evidently the same god as Karša, whose image was carried away by Assur-bani-pal from Susa (*W. A.* I. V. 6. 39.). Along with Karša, the plural Kiršamas is mentioned, that is to say „those who belong to Kirša” or „Karša”, the gods who were regarded as his children. These gods, though their images were collected in Susa, could not have been Susian, since the plural in Susian was expressed by the suffix *-me*, not *-mas*. This *-me* appears as *-ma* in the names of Elamite cities recorded in the Assyrian texts; e. g. Dur-Undasi and Dur-Undasi-ma, i. e. the villages „dependent on Dur-Undas”.

## VOCABULARY.

### A.

A'ak. *And.* I. 1, 4, 6, 12, 15, 16, 18., II. 13, 14, 19, 28.

Amardian and Susian *a'ak*.

Ah. *This, these.* I. 3, 6, 7., II. 24, 28, 32. Pl. Ahbe. *These.*

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1) The translation really is: „Of the other provinces he made a spoil and made a house” (*emidusa duwan e*, where *duwan* is what Dr. Oppert calls the infinitive).

I. 11. Amardian *ayae*.

Âin. *King*. I. 5, 7, 10; *pl.* Ahinap. I. 17, 19. Ahinbe. I. 19.

Susian *anin*, Accadian *en*, *enu*.

Akhi... II. 20.

Akka. *Who*. II. 3(?), 23, 28, 31. Amard. *akka*, Susian *akka-ra*.

Ammabakha. *I besought*(?). 1 S. Pret. Act. of *ammaba*. II. 11.

Ammaziras. A woman's name. II. 21.

Antini. II. 31. Comp. Amard. *antu* „to pass” (*Beh*. I. 69.)

Anzana. *The country of Elam*. I. 12, 18. Amard., Sus. *Anzan*.

Api. *Them, who*. II. 28. Amard. *appi*; Accad. *ab*, *aba*.

Âpir. *An Apirian*. Amard., Sus. *Khapirti*. I. 14.; II. 27.

Âpir-ip-na. *Gen. pl.* I. 18.

Âpir-n-ap-ma. *Loc. pl.* I. 17, 19.

Âpir-irra. *An Apirian*. I. 5.; I. a. 3.; II. 1, 20, 21.

Aras. *If*(?) or *around*(?). I. 22.; II. 32.

Ardan. *I established*. I. 9. Amard. *kharda*, Sus. *urdakh*.

Ardakni. *May it be established*. I. 23. See *khardak*.

As. *Whatsoever*. I. 1, 20. Amard. *as*.

## B.

Ba...batina. A man's name. II. 20.

Babkhabba (babkhá-ba). *I completed*(?). I. 4. (1 S. with suffix *ba*).

Bamban. A man's name. II. 26.

Ban-ma. *Loc. S.* II. 20.

Ban...ma. Perhaps the same word. II. 33.

Banda. *Prosperity*(?) or *ordinance*(?). I. 17.

Bandak. *Pass. part.* I. 18.; II. 29.

Banniza-ip-ti. *They had been finished*(?). 3 pl. pluperf. pass. I. 21.

Barti. A god. II. 11, 15.

Barti-na. *Gen.* II. 8, 13, 30.

Bartiza-na. A god. II. 4, 7, 27, 35.

Batinni. *A district*. I. 3.; II. 9, 10. Amard. *batin*, Sus. *bate* (*Len.* 32. 27.); Accad. *bad* „fortress”.

- Bat-mi-na. *Of my district*. I. 2.  
 Be-ra. *I made*. II. 5, 33. Amard. *be-isda*, „he has made”.  
 Bukhu. *Priest*. II. 8.  
     Bukhu-mi-na. *Of my priest*. II. 4, 7.  
 Buk-ti. *Shrine*. I. 12.  
     Bukti-ni. *Thy shrine*. II. 10.  
     Buktum. I. 6, 17.

## D.

- Da. *Mine*. II. 29. Amard. *-da* (in *adda-da* „my father”).  
 Dabekurbe. A man's name. II. 13.  
 Dakha. *I made* II. 28. Dakhah. II. 33. Amard. *dah*. See *Takh*.  
 Danras-is. II. 22, 30. Perhaps „presents”, Amard. *dana*.  
 Dari-ra-na. *Of the giver*. I. 12, 18.  
 Didukhunti. A man's name. *Ib.* 1.  
 Dikra. *Protector* I. 1, 8. Root *di*.  
     Dikra-na. Gen. *Ia*. 8.  
 Dilbat (?) -na. A god, perhaps the Accadian Dilbat, the planet „Mercury”. I. 22.  
 Dina. *Law*. I. 12, 17, 23.; II. 31. Borrowed from Babn. *dinu*; Amard. *dinum*.  
 Din(?)khapa. 3 pl. I. 3.  
 Din(?)kuh. *I restored (?)*. I. 15. Amard. *dingi*, Sus. *tengih*.  
 Dipti. The god of literature. I. 1, 6, 8, 12, 17, 20.; II. 34.  
     Babn. *duppu* „book”.  
 Diumbe-ik-ra. *Superintending (?)*. I. 2.  
     Diumbe-ik-ra-na. Gen. I. 20.  
 Du(?)en. *A gift (?)*. I. 23.  
 Du-isni. *May he make*. II. 20, 21, 22, 23. Amard. *du*,  
     Accad. *tum*.  
     Du-is-da. *He had made*. II. 29.  
     Dusa. *They were or he made*. II. 33.  
     Dukhi. *Being (?)*. I. 22.; II. 32.



**E.**

E. *Temple*. I. 1, 13, 14, 22.; II. 13, 14, 28, 32. Amard. and Sus. *e*. Accadian *e*, *ea*.

Ea. I. 22, 24.

Elpa(?)tum (?). II. 15.

En. *Lest*, (*let*)*not*. I. 2, 22. Amard. *anu*, *inni*; Sus. *inni*, *in*; Acc. *nu*. See *Inni*.

En-ri. *He-was*. I. 2. Amard. *en-ri* „he was”. Comp. Acc. *ven* „to be”.

En-ra-irra. *Creating*. I. 5. En-ra-irra-na. Gen. I. 7, 21.

**G.**

Gan-mas (or Kan-mas). II. 6. Comp. Amard. *in-ganni* and *in-kani* „to befriend”.

Gan-tum. II. 31.

Ganya-ma. Loc. *In peace* (?). I. 19.

Gilu-irra. *Carpenter* (?). II. 12. Sus. *gilû*.

**H.** See also **U.**

Hu, *I, me*. I. 5, 7, 12, 18.; Ia. 1.; Ic. 2.; Id. 2.; II. 1, 10, 12, 32. Amard. *hu* and *khu*; Sus. *hu*, *va*; Acc. *vu*.

Huhumma (Huhû-ma). *In joy*. II. 3. Onomatopœic word.

Huma-beb. *They inhabited*. I. 11, 17. Amard. *khuma-nu-is*; Sus. *khuma*. See *Khumakni*.

Humi. *There*. I. 8, 11. Comp. Amard. *khami*, Sus. *khumi*.

Huri. *Announcer*. I. 1. Amard. *uri*.

Huri-na. Gen. II. 4, 7.

**I.**

Ikkir. *An officer*. Ic. 1. Stem *ikki*. Comp. Amard. *uggi* „warrior”.

Ikni. II. 35. May be the termination of the 3 pers. precativ.

In. *Not* (?). I. 20. More probably the particle which appears in the Amard. *in-paru* „to arrive”.

Inni. *Not.* II. 6. Amard. *inni*, Acc. *nu*. See *en*.

Indakrina. *Of Indakri.* I. 10. Cp. the Susian name Inda-bigas.

Inrud. Bank, cliff. II. 3, 7. Amard. *enriud*.

Ir. *Him, it.* I. 4, 7, 9, 14, 21.; II. 6. Amard. and Sus. *ir*.

For *khi-r*, which see.

Iskhapi-mes. II. 24.

Isni. *Then.* I. 8. Amard. *vasni* and *vas-issin*.

Ispilu. *Chapel.* II. 28. Ispilu-mes. Pl. II. 30.

## K.

Kas (?). *Here (?)*. I. 24. Doubtful reading.

Kasa-ki. *At the time, at once.* II. 6. Perhaps connected with the preceding word.

Kidi-k. *A thing cut out, a sculpture.* I. 2, 3, 20.; Ia. 9. Amard. *kidu* „to cut out”.

Kidikki-mas. Pl. I. 2.

Kidik-ni-na. *Of thy sculpture.* I. 2.

Kidin. *A sculpture, a figure.* I. 4, 5, 7, 20, 21, 24.

Kidinh. *I carved.* II. 5, 6.

Ki-mas. *Posterity.* I. 23. Amard. *ki-k* „after”.

Kini. *A rock (?)*. II. 11. Kini-na. Gen. I. 13. Kini-ma. Loc. I. 11.

Kirissa-na. *Of the god Kirissa.* II. 34. See W. A. I V. 6. 39.

Kudu-be. *Additions (?)*. I. 13. Cp. Amard. *kudda* „moreover”.

Kuis. *Up to, until, while.* Ib. 2.; II. 29, 35. Amard. *kuis*, Sus. *kus*.

Kukuk-na. *Of favour.* I. 23. Amard. *kukti* „to favour”.

Kun . . . I. 22. Imperfect word.

Kusih. *I built.* I. 15. Kusikha. I. 17, 19. Amard. and Sus. *kusi*.

Kurdinni. *Religious ordinance (?)*. II. 9. Amard. *kurdas*.

Kurdinti. *Thou consecratest (?)*. II. 10.

KUR-kha-na. *Of the mountain.* I. 5, 7.; Ia. 10. -*kha* is a phonetic complement.

KUR-kha-h. *This mountain.* I. 24.

Kurma-na. II. 18. Perhaps an imperfect word.

Kutur. *A servant*. II. 20. Sus. *kutir* and *kutur*; Amard. *kuti* „to carry”.

## KH.

Khah. *I attached, acquired*. II. 8. Amard. *khau-m* and *khakhudda*.

Khakuzuh. *I consecrated*. I. 11.; Id. 4.; II. 2.

Khakunzûakni. 3 prec. pass. II. 11.

Khal-mes. *Towns*. II. 23. Amard. and Sus. *khal*.

Khal-inra-na. I. 14.

Khanik. *Pleasant*. II. 4, 7. Amard. *khani*.

Khanni. King of the Apirians. I. 5.; Ia. 1.; Ic. 1.; II. 1.

Probably derived from *khani*.

Khardak. *Established*. II. 18. Amard. *kharda*. See *Ardan*.

Khardakni. *May it be established*. II. 30.

Khardinra. *He will establish*. II. 16.

Khardakki-mas. *Establishments*. II. 6.

Khauddu... II. 13. Possibly a bye-form of *khudda*.

Khidi. The land of Khidi surrounding the plain of Mal-Amir.

I. 11, 16.; Id. 5. Sus. *Khite-ik*.

Khîr. *Him, it*. I. 1, 3, 20. Amard. *khîr*. For *khi-r* from the demonstr. *khi*. See *ir*.

Khis-mes. *Names*. I. 9, 10. Amard. *khis-mes*, *khise*; Sus. *khîksi*. See *Khusu*.

Khu. *This, that*. I. 1, 8.; Ia. 7.; II. 3. Khu-ma. Loc. II. 5, 26.

Khuh. I. 14.; II. 14. Khuh-mas. *These*. I. 15. Khuh-be. *These* II.

17. Amard. *khû-be* „that”, *khuh-be* „thus”, *khû-pî-ri* „he”.

Khu\*. The chief Apirian god. I. 4, 6, 20.

Khudan. *I made*. Amard. *khudda*, *khuddi*, *khuddu*; Sus. *khutte-ak*.

Khuddakh. *I made*. I. 16. Khuddak. *Made*. II. 17.

Khuddak-ba. *It was made by me*. I. 10.

Khuddan-ba. *I caused to make*. I. 9.

Khuddan-ra. *One will make*. I. 22.

Khudakni. *May it be made*. II. 9. Khuddakni. II. 28.

- Khudda(ir-na). *Of the maker*. II. 30. See *Khauddu*.  
 Khu(?)ullura. *I governed(?)*. Id. 6. Perhaps to be read *miul-lura*. See *Ullu*.  
 Khumakni. *May it be inhabited*. I. 23. See *Huma-beb*.  
 Khumuddir-ka. *It was engraved(?)*. I. 10.  
 Khunaza-na. *Of the occupier(?)*. I. 14.  
 Khupa-k-ir. *The chiefs*. I. 4, 8. Amard. *khupa*.  
     Khupa-k-irra. I. 20. Khupa-k-irra-na. Gen. I. 6.  
 Khusu. *A name(?)*. I. 23. See *Khis-mes*.  
     Khuhsu-na. Gen. I. 9, 10.

### L.

- Lu(?). Probably to be read „XXI in all”. I. 14.  
 Lulma-mana. *I command or record*. I. 3. Amardian *lulmak* „he ordered”, *lulmak* „a record”.

### M.

- Man. The god *Man*. I. 21.; II. 6. Man-na. Gen. I. 6.  
 Marih. *I took*. I. 16. Marikha. I. 19. Amard. *marri, mauri*;  
     Sus. *murkhu*.  
 Mi. *Mine*. I. 2, 23.; II. 4, 7, 13. Amard. *mi*; Accad. *mu, mi, ma*.  
 Midu. *A path*. I. 13. Amard. *mida* „to go”.  
 Milah-mes. II. 25.  
 Min (preceded by the determinative of place). I. 13.  
 Mipika. *Injuriously(?)*. II. 31, 32.  
 Miulka. *Very much*. I. 21. Amard. *miul, miullu*.  
     Mi(?)ullu. II. 17.  
 Muh(?)...ka. I. 22.  
 Muka-mas. *Sacrifices*. I. 21. Mukku-na. Gen. I. 21, 24.  
 Muhuttuk... A man's name. II. 16.

### N.

- Nappi. *A God*. I. 2, 5, 18. Amard. *nap, nappi*; Sus. *napi-ru-ri* „divine”; Acc. *nap*.

Nappi-na. Gen. I. 14.

Napir. *Of the Gods*. I. 4, 6, 20.; II. 18, 19, 35.

Nappirra. The same. I. 4. Nappirra. I. 1, 4.

Nappirra-na. I. 20, 21, 24.; II. 11.

Narisah-mes-ra. *Of the Narisians*. I. 5. Perhaps the same as the land of Risa, which see.

Ni. *Thine*. I. 2., II. 10, 31. Amard. *ni*.

Ni-tum. *Forgiveness*(?). II. 9.

Nuku-na. *Of us*. II. 9, 10. Amard. *nuku*, *nuka-mi*.

Numban-isti. *He had imitated*. II. 24. 3 pluperf. causative. Amard. *nuibba-k* „imitation”.

## P.

Pakaski. *In place of*. I. 14, 15.

Pal-mas-na Pl. gen. II. 33.

Parikh. *I went; a road*. I. 13, 16, 19. Amard. and Sus. *pari*.

Pi. *Who*. I. 15. Amard. *pi*.

Pilah-di-ma. Loc. II. 32.

Pirbakha. *I took*. I. 13. Amard. *pirpi*.

Pirkhuh. *I finished* (?). II. 3, 7. Comp. Amard. *pirka* „current”, „ended”.

Pirin. The river of the land of Sahsikši. I. 17.

Pitakka, or pidakka (pidá-ka). I. 15.

Piruri. *All*. II. 8, 30. Amard. *pir*, *pirru*, *pirruir*; Accad. *bar*.

## R.

Rabas. A man's name. II. 24.

Ragi-pal-iklu. A man's name. II. 22. Cp. Sutruru-ragi, and the Susian god Ragi-ba (W. A. I. V. 6. 38.)

Rakhi(?)... The name of a town. II. 31.

Rappi-tum. A *curse*. I. 23. Amard. *rippisni* „may he curse”.

Ra . . . . ra. II. 23.

Ras-barti. A man's name. II. 19, 20. Compounded with the name of the god Barti.

Rilu-in. *I wrote*. I. 2, 9. Amard. *rilu*.

Ri(?)luip. *Written*. II. 25.

Ri-ip(?) . . . II. 19.

Rir. *A place*. I. 21.

Risa. The land of Risa, which comprised Apirti. II. 4, 15.

Susian *Risa-k*.

Risa-ir. *A Risian*. I. 4.

Risara. *A Risian* II. 5. Risara-ikki. Dat. II. 8.

Rukku. *Transgression*. I. 23. Rukku-mas. Pl. II. 9.

Ruk-ni. *Thy transgression (?)*. II. 31.

Ru . . . ru. II. 26.

## S.

Sahsiksi. A country near Mal-Amir. I. 16, 19.

Sak. *Son*. I. 5, 10; Ia. 2.; Ic. 1.; II. 1. Amard. *saku, sak*;

Sus. *sak*.

Sakhis. *The enceinte (?) or exterior (?)*. I. 22.; II. 32.

Salkhubah. *I ordered*. I. 16, 17, 20.; Ia. 11. Salkhuba. I. 8.

Salzi. I. 24.

Salukharu (?). II. 23.

Sarah. *I placed*. Ib. 2. Amard. *sara* „I placed”, *sara-k* „position”, „time”.

Sara-ra. *I placed*. I. 23.

Sara-ma. *In position*. II. 19, 35.

Serah. *I appointed*. II. 2. Amard. *sera*.

Sein-ri. *He came*. I. 2. Amard. *sinni*.

Sinikra. *He will come*. II. 16.

Sin-sadin-be. A man's name. II. 24.

Sisni-r. *Magnificent*. I. 2. Amard. *sisni*.

Situkinni. *Of the monument*. I. 3. Stem *situ*; cp. Amard. *istu*.

Siulkha. *I adorned*. I. 1. Siulkhah-ba. *I adorned*. I. 3. Cp. the Susian name *Silka-k*.

Siul(?)manberir (?). A god's name. I. 4.

Sud. *Lofty*. II. 7. Amard. *sada-nika, sada-madak*; Accad. *sud*.



Sutur-Kit. A king's name. I. 10. „Worshipper of the Sun-god” (?). Cp. the Susian Sutrak-Nakhkhunte.

Sutruru-ragi. A man's name. Ic. 2.; II. 12. Cp. Ragi-pal-iklu.

### Š.

Šarih. *I destroyed*. I. 13. Amard. and Sus. *šari*.

Šatartu-k. *Decayed, former*. I. 13. A compound of *ša* „to go” and *tartuk* „completely”.

Šikka (Ši-ka). *Providently*. II. 14. Amard. *ziya* „to see”.

Širmuinni. *Enclosure*. I. 9, 11. Amard. *šira*.

Šiyan. *Palace*. I. 14. Amard. *ziyan*, Sus. *šiyan*. From *šiya* „to see” („what is seen”).

Šiz-mes. II. 23.

Šuda-sni or Šura-sni. *May he...* II. 30.

Šukka-mana. *I restore*. I. 3. Amard. *ziggi*.

Šukki. *Restoration*. I. 3.

Šulya-na. *Of the chief*. II. 18. Sus. *šul*, *zul* „head”.

Šul-ra-irra. *The supreme*. I. 18.; II. 29.

Šul-ra-irra-na. Gen. I. 12.; II. 8.

Šulse-hud. *We exalt* (?). II. 27.

Šulseh. *I exalt* (?). II. 27.

Šunki-p. *Rulers*. II. 1. Amard. *sunki-k*, *sunuk*; Sus. *sunki-k*.

Šunki-p-ri. I. 1.

Šu... sumu. A man's name. Id. 2.

### T.

Tak. *While*. II. 5, 6. Amard. and Sus. *daka*, *taka* „life”. To be pronounced *dak* from *da* „to be”, like *da-ka* „existence”, itself.

Tak-ma. *In life*. I. 23.

Takh (pronounce dakh). *I made, sent*. I. 7.; II. 13, 14. See *Dakha*.

Takhakha (pronounce dakhakha). *Another*. I. 14. Amard. *da'ae*, Acc. *tab*, *tav*.

- Takhkhakni (dakhkhakni). *May he be accompanied, aided.*  
 II. 10. Amard. *dakhu*.  
 Takhaisni (dakhaisni). *May he aid.* II. 24, 25, 26, 28.  
 Takhkha-na (dakhkhana). *Of the aider.* I. 7, 18.  
 Takhkhi-khi-kutur. A king of the Apirians. I. 5.; Ia. 2.; II.  
 1. „Aid this servant”.  
 Tar. *In all.* I. 9. Amard. *tar-ma*.  
 Tartu-k. *Altogether.* I. 8, 9, 11. Amard. *tartu-ak* „perfect”,  
*tartin* „in all”.  
 Tibba. *I sent, made.* I. 8.; Ia. 9.; II. 5. Amard. *tibbe*.  
 Tibbe. I. 16.  
 Tikhu-ri. II. 7. Tikhuri-k-ra. II. 27.  
 Tipira. A man's name. II. 18, 23, 29.  
 Tirutur. The god of oratory. I. 1, 7.; Ia. 6. Cp. the Susian  
 god Turêtir.  
 Tirutur-na. Gen. I. 6. See *Uttiruttir*.  
 Tuh. . . I. 22.  
 Tukrin (?). II. 10.  
 Turas. *Subsequently.* I. 15. Amard. *turi*.  
 Tuseinni. *Figures (?) or contents (?)*. I. 3.  
 Tusedi-n-ra. *It will contain (?)*. I. 22.

## U. See H.

- Ukku. *Great.* I. 23. Amard. *ukku*.  
 Ukku-mes. Pl. II. 34. Ukku(b)-na. Gen. pl. I. 2.  
 Ukku-mi-na. *Of my great one.* II. 13.  
 Ulkhi. *Family, clan.* I. 1, 8.; Ia. 7. Amard. *ulkhi*.  
 Ullu. II. 17. Perhaps *government*, if we should read *ullu-ra*  
 instead of *khullu-ra* in Id. 6.  
 Undannamip. 3 pl. I. 24. Perhaps to be read *un dannamip*  
 „they have given to me” (Amard. *hân* „me” and *dana*  
 „to give”).  
 Utkha(?)ranuh. *I carved (?)*. II. 2.

Uttiru(t)tir. *Of oracles*. I. 1. Amard. *tiri*, *turri* „to speak”.

See *Tirutur*.

Uz... A gods name. I. 9.

## Z.

Zabutuh. *I appointed* (?). II. 8.

Zak. *Concealed* (?). Id. 1.; II. 3.; II. 6. Cp. Amard. *zau-min* „in the shadow of”.

Zalmi. *An image*. II. 14. Amard. *zaulmû-is*, borrowed from the Bab. *zalmu*.

Zalmû-mas. Pl. I. 7, 16, 21, 24.; Ia. 5.; II. 5, 13, 18, 20, 23, 29, 31.

Zalmu-ri. *The image*. II. 3.

Zamban.. A man's name. II. 25.

Zig... I. 13. Perhaps *zigga* „I restored”, Amard. *ziggi*.

Zuhis. *Sanctuary*. I. 4.

The foregoing vocabulary will show that in phonology, grammar and lexicon, as well as in the peculiarities of the writing, the language of the Mal-Amir inscriptions agrees with that of the Amardian texts. What differences there are between them, may be explained on the hypothesis that the Amardian texts are later than those of Mal-Amir. Just as the characters *al* and *ar* have been disused in the Akhæmenian period, so also has the suffix *ba* been attached to the first person singular of the verb. On the other hand, just as the forms of the Mal-Amir characters sometimes explain those of the Akhæmenian inscriptions, so also the grammatical forms of Amardian are explained by the texts of Mal-Amir. Thus, as both Norris and Oppert have seen, a demonstrative *khu* must once have existed in Amardian, though in the Akhæ-

menian age its place was taken by *khi*. Now, though *khi* appears at Mal-Amir both in the proper name Takhkhi-khi-kutur as well as in the pronoun *khi-r*, we usually find there only *khu*, of which *khi* is a weakened form. So, again, the Akhæmenian *da'ae* „other” is explained by the Mal-Amir *dakhakha*, which shows that it has the same origin as the verb *dakh* „to accompany”, while the earlier termination of the first person singular of the preterite, which is preserved in the Akhæmenian texts only in the word *dah*, is almost universally found at Mal-Amir. Here we already have, it is true, *tibba* and *tibbe* as in the Akhæmenian period, but the ordinary form of the person ends in the suffix *-h* (as in Suisian and in the Amardian *dah* itself) as well as in the still older *-kha*. On the other hand the determinatives of person and place which are used correctly (with one or two exceptions) at Mal-Amir, have in the Akhæmenian period lost their proper significance and have come to be employed abusively. The loan-words are also instructive. None of the Persian words which appear in the Akhæmenian texts are to be found at Mal-Amir, whereas the presence of words borrowed from the Babylonian at Mal-Amir explains how it was that they made their way into the language. This took place before the contact of the Apirians with the Persians, at the time when the Amardian syllabary was borrowed from Semitic Babylonia.

No argument against the conclusion that the language of Mal-Amir is simply Amardian in an earlier stage of its existence can be drawn from the fact that certain words like *humi* and *Ápir* are written with initial *kh* in the Persian epoch. The true explanation of the fact is that the Amardians had great difficulty in finding cuneiform symbols for their initial aspirate, the representation of which accordingly varied with the caprice of the scribe. This is made clear by the attempts to transcribe Persian proper names as well as by

the variations in the representation of the sound both at Mal-Amir and in the Akhæmenian inscriptions. Thus at Mal-Amir we find *huma-beb* by the side of *khumakni*, *ardan* by the side of *khardak*, while in the Persian texts we have both *hu* and *khu* „I”.

As has been already pointed out in the notes, the Mal-Amir texts indicate pretty clearly the date when the cuneiform syllabary was borrowed from Babylonia and how it came to be so. The Assyrian inscriptions, including those which describe Assur-bani-pal's conquest of Elam, show no knowledge of Khapirti or of any district due east of Anzan, and it must, therefore, have been after this conquest that the Amardians could first have become acquainted with the Assyrian — as opposed to the Susian — system of cuneiform writing. We have seen, however, that the syllabary they adopted was borrowed not from the Assyrians, but from the Babylonians, and consequently, we may assume, after the rise of the Babylonian power on the ruins of that of Nineveh. Elam had been so thoroughly depopulated, and its cities so destroyed, by Assur-bani-pal, that when within a very few years afterwards the Assyrian armies were compelled to withdraw, the country must have been left almost empty and defenceless, the prey, in fact, of the first comer. At no other time could Anzan have been given into the hands of the Amardians, as Takhkhi-khi-kutur claims at Mal-Amir was the case. I conclude, therefore, that the Amardians conquered Anzan or Elam about B. C. 620, so that Jeremiah, prophesying in B. C. 606, was able to speak of „the kings of Elam” (Jer. XXV. 25.), which was no longer subject to the Assyrians. But the destruction of Susa by the Assyrians had put an end to Susianian literature, and when, therefore, the Amardians, after their occupation of Elam, desired to learn how to write, they had to turn for the purpose to those who were now their nearest neighbours, the

Babylonians namely. The Amardian system of writing, accordingly, became also the writing of Elam, supplanting the old script which flourished there for so many centuries. This explains two curious facts. First of all, the word Âpir is written Khapirti in the Akhæmenian texts just as it is in the archaic Susian. It was, in fact, the form which survived in the dialect of Susa, the capital of Kyros and Kambyses. And secondly, in the Akhæmenian period, Khapirti no longer means the plain of Mal-Amir, but the whole of Elam, the country, that is to say, the native name of which was Anzan. When Susiania became Amardian, the term was naturally extended so as to denote the whole district governed by the Amardian kings.

We now know from the inscriptions of Nabonidos and Kyros that the Amardians were not allowed to remain long in possession of their conquest. Teispes the Persian entered Anzan and established his seat at Susa. As Jeremiah prophesied in B. C. 599 of the Persian invasion of Elam, it would have taken place about B. C. 595, unless the prophecy is a *vaticinium post eventum* in which case the invasion may be placed about B. C. 600. In any case the syllabary and language found by the Persians on their arrival at Susa must have been Amardian, so that when Darius Hystaspis caused his bilingual inscriptions to be engraved, the Amardian text naturally occupied a place of honour in them. It represented the native language of Kyros and his Elamite subjects.

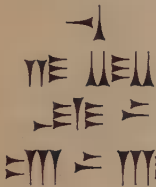
In addition to the Mal-Amir inscriptions I am able to lay before the members of the Congress two more Amardian texts which have not hitherto been noticed. One of them is on a cylinder now in the British Museum, which has been published, though not quite correctly, in Lajard's *Culte de Mithra* Pl. XXV. N<sup>o</sup>. 7. The design, which is of rude workmanship, represents a horseman, with a tall cap, throwing his spear at a rampant lion. The inscription is as follows:



- |              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1. √ A-a-na- | „Aanakka    |
| 2. ak-ka     | the son of  |
| 3. sak Pir-  | Pir-aatis”. |
| 4. a-a-      |             |
| 5. ti-is-    |             |
| 6. na.       |             |

The combination *a-a* or *â* seems to indicate that the cylinder was made in the neighbourhood of Mal-Amir. *Ânakka* is a participle passive and may have the same root as *Khanni* and *khanik* „agreeable”. *Pir-âtis* is a compound of *pir* „all” and *âtis* which is possibly connected with *khati-ma* „among”.

The other inscription is on a handle of red stone which has a gryphon’s head at one end. It was brought from Kappadokia, and I saw it at Smyrna two years ago. It is now, I believe, in the Louvre. How it came to be in Kappadokia I cannot conceive, unless it was brought there in the time of Kyros. The inscription is circular, and the characters are arrow-headed and not wedge-shaped. It runs thus: <sup>1)</sup>



The characters are those of the Akhæmenian texts except that the *ku* and *khar* have been simplified by the loss of their fourth horizontal wedges, while a new character *dhu*, unknown to the Mal Amir and Akhæmenian inscriptions has been introduced. The legend reads: „Ku-khar-hu-man the king Man-dhu-mas.” I suspect that *khar* has here become simply the representative of *ar*, so that the name begins with the syllable *Kuar* or *Kwar*. As *man* and *mas* are preceded by the vowel *u*, they no doubt have a velar sound, the two names reading respectively *Kwaruvan* and *Vandhuvas*. As I have already said, the character *dhu* is one not found in the Amardian syllabary, and this raises the presumption that the inscription, though written in the Amardian system

1) We give the arrow-headed inscription in cuneiform characters.

of cuneiform, is not in the Amardian language. The presumption is verified by the form of the two proper names that occur in it. *Vandhuvas* must be a gentile word, meaning „the Vandhuvian”, and the termination *-as* reminds us both of the language of the Vannic inscriptions and of the Indo-European dialects. I imagine, therefore, that the legend belongs to some Kappadokian prince who had learnt the Amardian syllabary after the overthrow of the Lydian empire by Kyros.

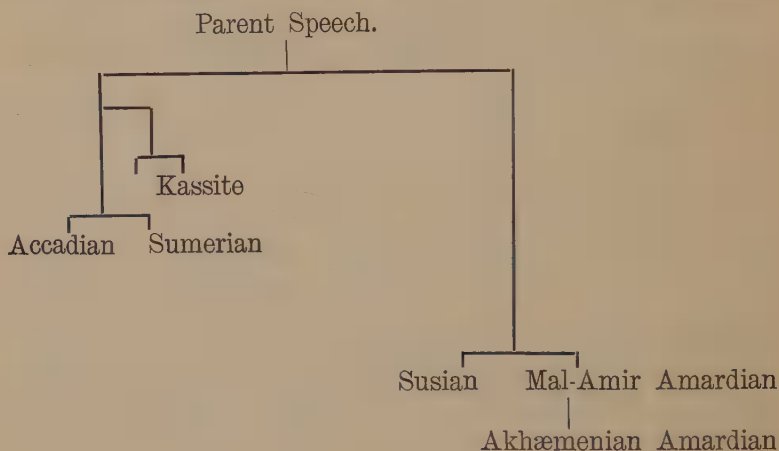
I have no space here to give an analysis of Amardian grammar or an account of the relation of Amardian to Susian on the one hand, and to Accadian and Sumerian on the other. These are subjects which I hope to handle in detail in another place. At present I can only express my high appreciation of Dr. Oppert's restoration of Amardian grammar. That restoration, however, is intended to be practical rather than analytic and the progress of research as well as the decipherment of the Mal-Amir texts will necessarily introduce into it both corrections and additions. In one important point the practical form Dr. Oppert has given to it is likely to lead to error. He furnishes long paradigms of verbs, arranged in voices, tenses and conjugations, such as we find in the grammars of Indo-European languages. But it must be remembered that these paradigms exist for the sake of convenience only. Not only are several of the forms not actually found in the inscriptions, but a verb in the true sense of the term was altogether unknown to the Amardian language. There is no real distinction between the verb and the noun; the same suffixes are used with each, and the grammatical meaning to be attached to them depends only on the context.

As regards the relation of Amardian to other languages I can only state here in a few words the general results of my studies. Between Amardian and Susian there is very close connection, presupposing a separation from a common

parent-language at a comparatively recent period. On the other hand, the relation of Amardian to Accado-Sumerian is much more distant, and is grammatical rather than lexical. While the phonology, morphology, syntax and grammatical forms of the two agree very remarkably the number of roots common to both is exceedingly small. Among these, however, are some of the pronouns, as well as the only numeral the pronunciation of which among the Amardians is known to us. Two special characteristics of Accado-Sumerian reappear in Amardian, the incorporation of the pronouns in the so-called verbal forms and the vague signification of so many of the personal pronouns, due to the fact that they were originally substantives, as in Chinese. Thus the Accadian *Vu-nin-dûga* „I tell him” or *in(n)-ab-dûga* „he tells him” is exactly parallel to the Amardian *'U-ap-tiriya* „I tell them” (*Beh.* I. 16.), *ap-tiris* „(he)tells them”. Amardian even has the same power as Accadian of inserting a pronoun or particle between the two elements of a compound as in *em-ap-du-is-da* „(he) had taken them” from *emi-du* (*Beh.* I. 50.) But while the Amardian pronouns remained prefixed to the Amardian verbal forms, the modificatory suffixes were always affixed, as was the case in the old „postpositive conjugation” of Accadian. This also continued to the last to be the rule in Accadian in regard to the plural suffixes, one of which as in Amardian was *mes* or *ves* when attached to the noun, *-a-s*, *-i-s*, *-u-s* according to the stem when attached to the so-called verb. The identity of the greater part of the suffixes in the two languages is certainly very striking. Owing, however, to the small number of roots which the two have in common, I have not been able to lay down more than a few laws of equivalence of sounds such as that Amardian *k* = Accadian *g* as in *ki-r* „one” Acc. *gi*, or in the suffix *-ki* Accadian *-ga*, *-ge*. Others will be gathered from the notes I have attached to my translation of the Mal-Amir

texts, where illustrations of the grammatical resemblances of Amardian and Accadian will also be found.

Much the same relation that is borne by Amardian to Susian seems to be borne by the Kassite dialect to Accardo-Sumerian. The proof of this also I must leave for another occasion and must now content myself with a diagram which will show what I conceive to be the precise relation to one another of these ancient languages of Elam and Babylonia:



A. H. SAYCE.

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#### BEIGABE ZUR ABHANDLUNG VON H. PROF. SAYCE, OXFORD.

Herr Professor Sayce ersuchte mich als Beigabe zu seiner Abhandlung den Text eines medischen Thontäfelchens aus dem Britischen Museum hier zu veröffentlichen. Mit Freuden komme ich diesem Wunsche nach und gebe den Text autographisch nach meiner Abschrift vom 29. Nov. 1880. Das Tablet ist von länglicher Gestalt wie die sogenannten astronomischen Report-tablets oder wie die kleinen babylonischen Kaufverträge, ist von rothem Thon, und wurde, nach der

Registrationsnummer zu schliessen, schon von Layard in Kuyundschik gefunden. Soviel ich weiss, ist es das einzige bis jetzt bekannte Thontäfelchen, das in der Sprache der zweiten Keilschriftgattung geschrieben ist, und es ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach aus der Zeit von Sennacherib oder Assurbanipal. Damals war also die (medische) Sprache der zweiten Keilschriftgattung in Ninive bekannt und wurde im Verkehre gebraucht.

Der Inhalt des Tablets ist mir gänzlich unverständlich, vielleicht können die Gelehrten, welche sich speciell mit den medischen Inschriften der Achaemeniden beschäftigt haben, den Text näher erklären; jedenfalls ist es für sie von Interesse den Text zu haben, soweit ich im Stande war denselben richtig zu copiren. Herr Professor Sayce spricht sich darüber so aus:

„It is in the characters and language of the Mal-Amir inscriptions which I believe I have shown in my Memoir are but an older form of the characters and language of the so-called „Median” texts. The tablet seems to refer to the sale of some property, the position of which is defined by Akkiri and Nantum-untuk, the sons (*sa-ak-mas*) of Bakhuri on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the month Tammuz. The name of the month Iyyar occurs in line 5., and elsewhere I recognise words like the pronouns *a-pi-e* and *a-ah*, the adverb *kuis* „up to” (l. 14.), the verb *zi-ki-da-ah* „I established” (line 9.), the verb *ti-ip* „to send”, the plural in *-be*, the river Zab (line 15.), etc. Er glaubt auch, dass die drei letzten Zeichen in l. 16. welche am Rande am Ende der Zeile beschädigt sind, nach dem Ende der Zeile 10. corrigirt werden sollen.

\* 16 May 1885.

J. N. STRASSMAIER S. J.

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*Postscript.* — The tablet discovered and translated by Dr. Strassmaier seems to relate to the sale or lease of a house on the part of Akkiri-nantum the son of Dansi(?)-bakhuri, which was situated in the city of Mugastum (*lines* 4, 10, 14, 16). Besides Mugastum, mention is also made of the towns of Tibantum (*line* 12), and Rimar-kutur (*line* 13, where the name is followed by the word *lubar* „servant”). The expression *ku-is* D. P. *a-a-za-be-ri-ik-ki* (*line* 15) may mean „as far as the Zab”. We must notice the final aspirate in the first person singular *ik-ki-da-ah* (*line* 9), as well as in the pronoun *a-ah-pi-e* (*line* 12) by the side of *a-pi-e* (*line* 8).

The most interesting fact connected with the tablet is that the characters engraved upon it have the forms met with in the Amardian and not in the Mal-Amir inscriptions. It must, therefore, be later in date than the latter. How this is to be reconciled with the fact that the tablet comes from the library of Assur-bani-pal I do not know, unless we transfer the formation of the Mal-Amir syllabary and the execution of the Mal-Amir inscriptions to an earlier period than I have suggested. It is also possible that the tablet is later than the overthrow of Nineveh, since among the tablets from Kouyunjik, now in the British Museum, I have copied some fragments written in characters resembling Pehlevi which cannot be older than the Persian epoch.

A. H. SAYCE.







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